THE OREGON MISSIONS

JAMES W. BASHFORD

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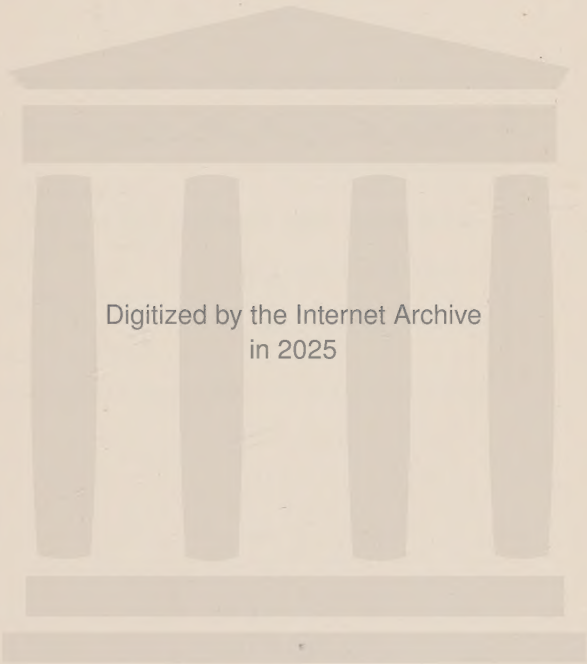
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THE OREGON COUNTRY

THE OREGON MISSIONS

The Story of How the Line was Run Between Canada and the United States

BY

JAMES W. BASHFORD

Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church

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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to portray the deeds which determined the boundary line between Great Britain and the United States from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. When the contest began, Mexico owned the southwestern portion of North America as far north as 42°—the northern boundary of California; and Russia owned Alaska and a portion of the mainland, which both Great Britain and the United States in 1824 recognized as extending as far south as 54° 40′. Originally, therefore, the contest involved the question as to how the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between Russia on the north and Mexico on the south should be divided between the United States and Great Britain. The entire region was known as The Oregon Country. The area embraced 443,871 square miles of territory,[1] a territory considerably larger than the whole Atlantic Coast east of the Appalachian Mountains, a territory whose climate and whose mineral and agricultural resources make its natural value as great as that of any equal amount of territory in eastern North America or western Europe. Moreover, as this territory lies within the Pacific Basin—the largest and the last great world basin to be developed—probably its political and strategic value eventually will become great, just as coastal lands in the Atlantic Basin and in the Mediterranean Basin are of great importance to-day.

The line of division of this territory between the United

[1] Chambers's Encyclopædia, Philadelphia, 1884, vol. ix, p. 647.

States and Great Britain, which was suggested by our government in 1818, 1824, 1826, 1843, and 1845, was the extension to the Pacific Coast of the boundary line running from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, that is, the 49th parallel of north latitude. This proposed line would give to the United States 286,541 square miles[2] of this territory and Great Britain 157,330 square miles. The United States did not make any settlement upon the 157,000 square miles. Hence, as shown by the offers of our government, the United States at first was willing to surrender all claims to the territory north of the 49th parallel and to settle the question easily and speedily by the extension of that parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. We could readily afford this line of division because it gave the United States the larger and better portion of the territory in dispute. Great Britain five times rejected the 49th parallel of latitude as the boundary line, and she finally accepted it in 1846 because she realized that the only alternative was war. The bitter and defiant feeling existing against Great Britain as the result of the wars of 1776 and 1812, the erection of forts and the exercise of civil and military authority by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company over British subjects and Indians as far south as the Mexican border, at last provoked Americans to claim authority as far north as the Russian border; and the bitterness and excitement became so great that the Democratic party won the election of 1844 with the campaign cry, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." Hence, the entire region of 443,000 square miles again became involved in the conflict.

[2] Hammond, Atlas, part ii, p. 140.

PREFACE

The struggle, known as the Northwest Boundary dispute, clearly emerged into consciousness at the convention of Ghent in 1818, which provided for the joint occupation of the territory, became serious on the union of the North-West Fur Company with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, and the establishment of Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in 1824-25, rapidly developed on the erection of forts by the Hudson's Bay Company south of the 49th parallel, and the entrance in 1834 of American missionaries into the Columbia River valley, became acute on the organization of the Provisional Government of Oregon in 1843, and nearly involved the two nations in war in 1846.

It is because the Oregon Missions, including the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Dutch Reformed, and the Methodists, helped to solve the problem; it is because Jason Lee, of the Methodist Mission, and Dr. John McLoughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Company, helped to solve the problem without a war, helped to solve it in a manner which gave each of the two great Anglo-Saxon races a place upon the Pacific for the struggles of the twentieth century; and it is because these missions struggled for the conversion, the preservation, and the uplift of the Indian race, that our share in the Oregon Missions is the most important joint home and foreign missionary enterprise of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

We make bold to take our readers into our confidence and tell how this book originated. It is a growth rather than the result of a deliberate plan. When I was pastor at Auburndale, Massachusetts, 1881-84, I met some relatives of Cyrus Shepard, a member of the first group of missionaries to Oregon; they were living in the adjoining

town of Weston, where I occasionally preached. From them I first heard the story of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oregon. The story greatly stirred me, and upon obtaining the address of Daniel Lee, another member of the first group, then living at Caldwell, Kansas, I wrote him for confirmation and for fuller facts. I received letters from Daniel Lee and later from his son, the Rev. William H. Lee. The facts thus gathered seemed of such importance that I spent considerable time in the Boston Public Library studying the material bearing upon the Oregon question in order to verify the statements and interpret them. I here first learned of the noble part which the American Board had played in the settlement of Oregon. During my study of the subject, Professor William I. Marshall, of Chicago, lectured at the Auburndale church and spent the night in our home, and did much to stimulate my interest, especially in the problem of Dr. Whitman's services to the government, in which he then believed. Out of the personal narratives and the letters and the volumes read grew an address on missions, which I delivered at the church in Auburndale in 1882.

Reports of the address reaching my district superintendent, Willard F. Mallalieu, I was made one of the speakers on missions at the Sunday evening session of the New England Conference of 1883, and revised the address and delivered it in Music Hall, Boston. Chaplain C. C. McCabe heard the address and requested it for publication. I furnished him the manuscript under the title "A Romance of Missions." He told me later that he had sold between twenty and thirty thousand copies of the tract. The narrative thus far covers the first result of my interest in the Oregon Missions.

But my interest had been aroused to such an extent that I continued year after year reading upon the subject.[3] In my reading I found five points of view emerging. The conflicting views led to the consultation of additional volumes in the Congressional Library at Washington, in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, in the library of the British Museum, and in the library of the University of California, which contains the great collection upon the Pacific Coast made by H. H. Bancroft. The volumes by Mowry, Nixon, Barrows, Eells, and Gray emphasized—indeed, overemphasized—the work of Dr. Whitman to the neglect of other factors in the struggle. The volumes of Lee and Frost, of H. K. Hines, and of Atwood[4] did the same for Jason Lee. The volumes by Mrs. Dye, and the monumental works of H. H. Bancroft, justly honor Dr. McLoughlin, but depreciate other actors. The volumes by the English writers, George Bryce, Willson, and Fitzgerald, magnify the work of the Hudson's Bay Company at the expense of the other parties, including Dr. McLoughlin. The lives of Tyler and of Benton magnify the work of American political leaders and of the American government. I became convinced that the various parties were portraying the work of the actors in which each was interested, and that I also had fallen into partisanship through partial knowledge. My dissatisfaction with the tract published in 1884, my desire to render justice to the men I had overlooked, and a strong conviction of the value of the story for instruction and inspira-

[3] See Bibliography.

[4] Dr. Atwood's gathering of data showing Jason Lee's influence on the newspapers of the Middle West is an exceedingly valuable piece of work.

tion led me in 1910, twenty-six years after the first tract was published, to furnish the Pacific Christian Advocate a brief history of the Oregon Missions. In these articles I attempted to set forth in a balanced form the services of the various actors who contributed to the solution of the problem. At that time I had not seen any volume distinctively recognizing the work of each factor which contributed to the settlement of the Oregon problem and setting forth the claims of all the factors in due proportion. But I was convinced that a fair treatment of the subject demanded such a recognition.

We have read carefully all we can find on all sides of the question. We appreciate the earnestness and, in general, the good motives of the champions of the respective views. We join with Professor Bourne and Mr. Marshall in correcting the extravagant claims originally made in behalf of Dr. Whitman's services. In the natural reaction from exaggerated claims we have tried not to fail in recognition of such influence as Dr. Whitman may have exerted upon the administration at Washington, and especially upon the American people.

H. H. Bancroft's Works on the Pacific Coast are a monument of great foresight, of untiring industry, and of unselfish expenditure of time and money in collecting sources which were rapidly disappearing. Mr. Bancroft has a passion for gathering and publishing facts, and this determination to tell the truth and the whole truth gives great value to his writings. We think that his volumes reveal dependence upon the labors of others with a lack of sufficient oversight to give unity to the writings published under his name. This defect grows out of the greatness of his enterprise. He has produced over fifty volumes, many

of them running from five hundred to seven hundred pages in length. No author can personally create so large an historical literature involving literally tens of thousands of historical references. It must be said, however, that while these various books reveal the style and in some measure reflect the views of the different writers, they are distinguished by rare accuracy in their historical references and by a lofty purpose molding them throughout. Possibly the author of the volumes has not examined with sufficient care all the material relating to early settlements in Arizona, New Mexico, etc. But the most serious defect, and in our judgment the only serious fault, of Bancroft's volumes is the bias sometimes revealed in his judgment of the various actors. While an historian not only has the right, but is under the obligation to publish all the facts which reveal the character of a public man whose life he is portraying, he should follow the golden rule in going back of these facts and determining the motives which prompted them. At this point Mr. Bancroft sometimes reveals a cynical tendency which is to be deplored. We have an illustration of this tendency in the controversy which arose between him and the Society of California Pioneers. The Rev. Myron Eells criticizes Mr. Bancroft's rebuttal of the high claims set up for Dr. Whitman. To establish his claim that Mr. Bancroft is an unfair historian, he cites Bancroft's expulsion from honorary membership in the Society of California Pioneers. Dr. Eells writes: "Mr. Bancroft was an honorary member of the Society. In October, 1893, charges were made against his histories. . . . His name was by vote stricken from the roll. At the next meeting of the Society this was reconsidered in order to give Mr. Bancroft an opportunity

to defend himself, and a committee was appointed to take the matter in charge. Seven counts were prepared against him, to sustain which his books were witnesses. In these counts he was charged with having distorted the facts and truth of history, 'maligned the memory of many of the men' conspicuous in early events, . . . and of having a spirit of prejudice and seemingly malignant dislikes and hatreds of the men about whom he had written."[5] "Mr. Bancroft was requested to appear before a committee of the Society and answer the charges. He failed to appear, and another time was set when he also failed to appear. A third time was set which he likewise ignored, whereupon, February 5, 1894, when eighty members of the Society were present, his name was unanimously stricken from the roll of honorary membership of the Society."[6]

We appreciate the indignation with which Mr. Bancroft and his co-workers witnessed the misrepresentation of Dr. McLoughlin's motives and some injustice done him throughout his life by American citizens, by some missionaries, and for a time by the governments of Oregon and the United States. We appreciate too the moral indignation with which they witnessed the later struggles of certain representatives of the churches, including the Methodist Episcopal Church, to secure valuable land grants from the government in return for spiritual services

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[5] Eells, A Reply to Professor Bourne's "The Whitman Legend," p. 26.

[6] Ibid., pp. 26-27. Dr. Eells bases his statement upon a pamphlet of thirty-seven pages published in February, 1894, entitled The Proceedings of the Society of California Pioneers in Reference to the Histories of Hubert Howe Bancroft.

rendered by their predecessors to the Indians and the pioneers. The tendency of all such efforts is to commercialize Christianity, to lead to extravagant claims in behalf of spiritual workers, and to drag into the mire of controversy the memories of dead heroes and heroines. But in the reaction we think Mr. Bancroft went too far—not in publishing facts but in misinterpreting them. Our readers will be prepared for his occasional misjudgment of the efforts of missionaries from reading his false and antiquated estimate of missionary work in general, though even here he shows a desire to be fair: "The missionaries of the several denominations who played so prominent a part in the settlement of Oregon and of other sections of the Northwest Coast were, in the main, intelligent, honest, well-meaning men, who sought to do the best for themselves, their families, their country, and their God. . . . I am prepared to do honor to the pioneer missionaries of the Northwest, Catholic and Protestant, for I believe them to have been single-hearted men and actuated by the purest motives, though I must be permitted to take exception to such acts as appear to me unwise, impolitic, or unjust. . . . Speaking generally, all missionary effort is a failure. . . . Missionary effort seeks to lift the savage mind from the darkness of its own religion, which God and nature have given it as the best for it, and to fix it on the abstract principles of civilized belief which it cannot comprehend. It seeks to improve the moral and material conditions of the savage when its very touch is death. The greatest boon Christianity can confer upon the heathen is to let them alone."[7] This utterly false philosophy of history

[7] Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, vol. i, pp. 548-549.

led Bancroft at times to fail to do justice to the motives of men employed in what he regarded as a Quixotic enterprise. But it will be easy to point out his bias where it threatens any injustice to the characters which we are portraying. We cannot sufficiently express our personal indebtedness to Bancroft's volumes or our appreciation of the man who has undertaken and has carried to a successful issue so monumental a service to the people of the Pacific Coast. Besides, we are sure that he too has striven honestly according to his judgment to set forth in balanced form the work of the various actors in the drama. Moreover, his occasional unjust exaggeration of faults in our heroes helps to correct the tendency to dramatize history, which all historians fall into, and which most of us as readers demand. We instinctively create heroes. The American Revolution, with all its glorious consequences, is credited to Washington, the Civil War to Lincoln, while we fail to give the just meed of praise to the minor actors whose sacrifices made possible the triumphs of our heroes. Hence, if we tarry in our exaltation of the missionaries to narrate the achievements of others; if Bancroft forces us in portraying the services of Lee and Whitman to descend from the heights, to abate much of partisan claims in their behalf, to recognize their blunders and their limitations, or even to engage in controversy over them, we trust that the disappointment of our readers over delays and diversions in the story will be overborne by their growing conviction that our narrative is rooted in reality. The desire to justify this conviction in dealing with controverted questions is our only excuse for burdening our pages with references to authorities.

We are deeply indebted to our secretary, the Rev. Joseph

P. MacMillan, whose passion for accuracy led him to a large amount of research as to dates, names, and details found in the volume. Doubtless mistakes will yet be discovered, but we do not think any serious error of fact will be found upon any controverted subject.

We have called this book "The Oregon Missions," because we have given the most space to the missionaries. We have done this, first, because we think their work the most important single factor in securing without a war the wise division of this territory between Great Britain and the United States; and, second, because their work, and especially that of the Methodists, is the least known.

It is due to Methodism that one of her greatest heroes should be reclaimed from the unfair estimate in which Bancroft's portrayal leaves him and placed before the world in his true proportions. It is also due to the strongest Protestant church in Christendom that her writers rise above provincialism and place Methodist men and movements in due perspective with the men of other churches and the great movements of the nation and the world.

In a word, the desire to recognize clearly, even if we do not fully portray, the services of each group of actors in the Oregon drama is one of the motives which have led to the writing of this volume. Incidentally we wish to set forth for the Methodist Episcopal Church the work of one of her great missionaries while the materials are available for placing these services upon a plane beyond reasonable controversy. But the determining motive which led to the writing of the volume was the desire growing through thirty years to show how the Divine Providence guided all the complex forces engaged in the struggle to such a di-

vision of this territory as conserved justice, preserved peace, advanced civilization and gave each of the English-speaking nations a position on the Pacific Coast of inestimable value for the struggles of the coming centuries.

CHAPTER I

THE INDIANS' SEARCH FOR GOD

History will recognize that the Indians themselves by a visit to Saint Louis helped start the movements which created the Oregon Missions and precipitated the struggle for the possession of the Oregon Country. Despite the efforts of the missionaries, and in part by reason of those efforts, the visit of the Indians caused their own more speedy death. Their cry for light brought the missionaries to their side; the reports sent home by the missionaries brought the hunters and trappers and settlers with fire-arms, liquor, and lust, which hastened the decay of the Indian race; the missionaries themselves by digging and plowing up the ground and leaving ditches and furrows for pools of water, and by providing schoolhouses for the children and advising homes for the Indians, unwittingly contributed to the more rapid spread of malaria and of tuberculosis, which swept off their Indian wards like a plague. Christians mourn all the more deeply the outcome for the Indians, since their visit to Saint Louis originated in the highest impulses which can move the human soul.

One afternoon in the winter of 1831-32 three Nez Percés and one Flathead Indian appeared on the streets of Saint Louis with a request which no white man had ever heard before.[1] They came, they said, from the land of the

[1] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 54, 55.

setting sun; they had heard of the white man's God, and they wished to learn how to worship Him.

General William Clark, then Indian agent resident at Saint Louis, had become acquainted with these tribes on the famous tour of exploration of the Columbia River region by Captain Meriwether Lewis and himself in 1804–06. He accordingly tried to teach them what he regarded as the true Christian doctrine, but, in accordance with his religious views, he did not deem it wise to give them the Bible.

In 1832 the United States government sent William Walker, Jr., a Christian halfbreed of the Wyandot nation, from Ohio to Missouri to select lands to which the Wyandots could be moved. On reaching Saint Louis, Walker called on General Clark and presented his credentials. While discussing the mission upon which he was sent, General Clark remarked that three Indians from the West were now in another room ill, and that the fourth member of the company had died recently. On Clark's invitation, Walker went into the room to see these Indians, and soon learned from them and General Clark that they had made a journey of some two thousand miles to secure the Bible. Was there a suggestion of Divine Providence in the fact that this government official with Indian blood in his veins, three hundred miles from home, should meet these searchers after God, two thousand miles from their home, and that a United States general should tell a Methodist Indian agent of the pagan Indians' wish to learn the way of eternal life? The story deeply stirred William Walker, and he at once wrote a letter to G. P. Disosway, a Methodist merchant of New York city. Walker appealed to Disosway because Disosway had helped furnish the funds

to support the mission among his Wyandot brethren, just as in 1819 he had helped form the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Disosway sent Walker's letter to the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, with an appeal for help written by himself, both of which appeared in the issue of March 1, 1833. When President Wilbur Fisk, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, read Walker's story, it was like fire shut up in his bones. He sounded through the Advocate a trumpet blast: "Hear! Hear! Who will respond to the call from beyond the Rocky Mountains?" He called for two young men, unencumbered by families, and with the spirit of the martyrs, to throw themselves into the Indian nation, learn the language, teach them Christianity and farming and civilization. He added in closing that he had one of these young men in mind, "of whom I can say, I know of none like him for the enterprise."[2]

Varying accounts of the cause of this strange Indian journey are given, and probably some knowledge of the true God had reached the Indians through several sources:

(1) In Walker's letter to G. P. Disosway he says that General Clark gave the following as the reason of their journey: Some white men passing through the Indians' country had witnessed their religious ceremonies. One of the white hunters told them that their mode of worship was wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit. He added that the white men far to the rising sun had a book containing directions. The Indians called a council and said: "If this be true, we must know more about it; it

[2] Quoted by Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 25.

is a matter that cannot be put off."[3] As a result of this council four of their chiefs were sent on the long journey.

(2) The Rev. Samuel Parker in his Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains attributes the knowledge which the Nez Percés had of Christianity to Pierre C. Pambrun, one of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, a man of the Roman Catholic faith;[4] and this testimony is repeated by Lyman in his History of Oregon.[5]

(3) E. W. Sehon, of Saint Louis, on seeing Walker's letter in the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald of March 1, 1833, narrating the story of the Indians' search for God, was greatly interested and called on General Clark and showed him the account. Later he wrote a letter which was published in the Advocate of May 10, 1833, in which he says: "General Clark informed me that the publication which appeared in the Advocate was correct, and that the cause of the visit of the Indians was: Two of their number had received an education at some Jesuitical school in Montreal, Canada, and had returned to the tribe and endeavored as far as possible, to instruct their brethren how the whites approached the Great Spirit. A spirit of inquiry was aroused, a deputation was appointed, and a tedious journey of three thousand miles was performed to learn for themselves of Jesus and him crucified. . . ."[6] This third account is inaccurate in the use of the word "Jesuitical" for "Jesuit," and in

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[3] Quoted by Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 25.

[4] Quoted by Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 110.

[5] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, p. 85.

[6] Quoted by Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 27.

making the length of the journey three thousand miles, instead of approximately two thousand miles, and it differs from Walker's report of General Clark's statement of the cause of the journey. But General Clark's information that the Indians gained some knowledge of God through Indian students returning from Catholic schools probably was gained by interviews with the Indians subsequent to his statement made to Walker; and it is reenforced by the experience of the Rev. Samuel Parker, who found a young Indian who had attended school in the Red River settlement able to translate for him as he preached to a group of Nez Percés and Spokanes.[7] Parker also observed the Indians preparing, according to Roman Catholic custom, to place a cross at the head of the grave of an Indian child which they had just buried, but he objected to their doing this.[8] The return of Indian students from a Christian school is a very probable source of some Indian knowledge of the true God.

(4) The Roman Catholic bishop of Saint Louis, in a letter written October 20, 1839, to the General of the Society of Jesus at Rome, says that as early as 1812 some Catholic Iroquois from Canada settled among the Flatheads and taught them religion, and that about 1830, again in 1832, and once more in 1839, Flatheads or Iroquois-Flatheads came to Saint Louis for more light.[9] Probably the Iroquois immigrants were an additional source of Nez Percé enlightenment.

Inasmuch as Hee-oh-ks-te-kin's speech shows that the

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[7] Quoted by Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 122.

[8] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 115.

[9] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, p. 287.

object of the Indians' visit to Saint Louis was to get the Bible, which the Catholics do not use in public worship or furnish to their members, the Indians apparently were influenced by the statement of the Protestant hunter as well as by earlier Roman Catholic teaching. At any rate, Protestant missions on the Pacific Coast and the settlement of Oregon at the time and in the manner in which it took place were due to the journey of the Nez Percé and Flathead Indians to Saint Louis in 1833. The genuineness of Hee-oh-ks-te-kin's speech has been questioned. We cannot trace it back of the Rev. H. H. Spalding—a Presbyterian missionary who first published it about 1865, as he claimed it was originally delivered by the Indian. The brevity and eloquence of this speech in comparison with Mr. Spalding's style lead to the conviction that the basis of the speech is genuine. We have included the speech in Chapter XVI—the "Résumé," so that our readers may see it and form their own conclusions.

But the Indians contributed more to the missionary settlement of Oregon than the single visit to Saint Louis. Two Indian boys of the Flathead tribe, with their heads flattened according to the custom of the tribe, were brought to Massachusetts by Captain N. J. Wyeth on his return in 1833 from his first trip to Oregon, and he kept them until he returned to the West in 1834. Jason Lee, of whom we shall learn later, with the genius for friendship and for securing cooperation which characterized him in all his enterprises, induced Captain Wyeth and the two Indian boys to attend a mass meeting in Bromfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston, in November, 1833. Wilbur Fisk, Jason Lee, and Captain Wyeth spoke, and the two Indian boys were introduced and created great

enthusiasm—all of which led to an offering of $120 for the mission to the Indians. Thus the Indians helped to secure the funds which made possible the Methodist participation in the Oregon Missions.

The Indians made a further contribution to the Oregon Missions. When Jason Lee returned from Oregon in 1837, he brought with him three half-Indian boys, sons of Captain Thomas McKay, whom he placed in Wilbraham Academy. He also brought two other Indian boys named William Brooks and Thomas Adams, whom he planned to put into school later, but through whom first he hoped to interest the church in the evangelization of the Indians in the Oregon Country. Both boys proved interesting speakers, and Brooks especially helped Lee greatly in awakening the enthusiasm which secured funds for the Mission and led to emigration to Oregon. At a public meeting in Washington, Brooks spoke for the first time in English. Among other things he said, "Indians must have agreement in writing that white man do not sell whisky to Indians; white man make it, and white man must drink it." Immense applause greeted this remark. A woman in another audience asked him why the Indians followed the foolish custom of flattening the head. He answered: "All custom; Indian make flat the head. . . . You," looking at her and putting his hands on his waist, "make small here; customs differ; all custom."

As Brooks turned from his witty answer and began to portray his people's ignorance of God and of the way to heaven, and their lonely lives, he burst into tears and the audience was deeply stirred, and money was freely offered for the evangelization of Oregon. Like multitudes of his brothers and sisters in Oregon, Brooks could not stand

the sudden change from outdoor to indoor life, and he was stricken with tuberculosis. He was taken to a beautiful home in New York city, but Christian comforts could not compensate for the sick lad's loneliness.

"I want to go home," he said.

"To your home in Oregon?" asked Jason Lee, bending over him.

"No," he replied, "to my home in heaven."

Who doubts that the keen-witted Indian boy, by his eloquent speeches and his lonely death, helped stir the hearts of Methodists to make the large contributions which that church put into the Oregon Missions?

But the greatest work which the Indians did for the encouragement of the missionary societies and the churches was their response to the efforts of the missionaries. Never before had these Indians known white men who came to them solely for the Indian's welfare, as did the Lees, the Perkins, the Spaldings, the Whitmans, and the Roman Catholic missionaries; and their responsiveness to missionary efforts was often remarkable. One Indian boy in the Hudson's Bay Company's school, taught by Solomon Smith at Fort Vancouver, mastered reading, writing, and Daboll's arithmetic in eleven months.[10] Large numbers, old and young, heard the gospel and readily accepted the Christian faith. The total number of those who responded to the preaching of the Methodists aggregated several thousand. Many of them backslid and many died, but a remnant remained faithful. H. K. W. Perkins kept a diary which he sent home. In 1841 the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church published tract No.

[10] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 162.

300, entitled, "Wonderful Work of God Among the Indians of Oregon." It consisted of extracts from Perkins's diary showing the conversion of over eight hundred Indians at Wascopam (The Dalles) in the revival of 1839. Daniel Lee records the following prayer of one of the Indians who had been converted: "O thou great God on high, we now pray to thee. Our fathers knew thee not; they died in darkness, but we have heard of thee. Now we see a little. Truly we are wretched; our hearts are blind, dark as night; our ears are closed; our hearts are bad, full of evil, nothing good. Truly we now pray to thee. O make us good; put away our bad hearts; give thy Holy Spirit to make our hearts soft! O make our hearts good, all good, always good! Now we desire thee; O come into our hearts—now come. Jesus Christ, thy Son, died for us. O Jesus, wash our hearts! Behold and bless. Amen."[11] Tens of thousands of copies of the tract containing the extracts from Perkins's diary and this prayer were circulated.

The Rev. Cushing Eells, of the American Board, reports that the Indians in his station sometimes spent whole nights repeating the Lord's Prayer, portions of the Bible, and the words of the missionaries, and that as many as two thousand Indians at one time made a public confession of sin and promised to serve God.[12] He adds that many of them evidently had no clear idea of what they were doing; yet not a few gave evidence later of genuine conversion. The Rev. Mr. Eells's report shows that there were large revivals among the Indians under the labors of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of the Ameri-

[11] Quoted by Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 99.

[12] Warren, Memoirs of the West, p. 11.

can Board as well as under the Methodist missionaries. Reports of these large revivals were sent East and contributed to the reenforcement of the Missions and to the American settlement of Oregon.

There are indeed calamities which lead to the downfall of a nation or a race; and a reading of Francis Parkman's The California and Oregon Trail, with his careful portrayal of the daily life of the Indians among whom he lived for months, shows that in 1846 the buffalo already was disappearing from the Western plains and that with the disappearance of the buffalo the Indian must become a farmer or else that the race was doomed. His picture of the degrading habits of the Indians was more than confirmed by the observations of other travelers living in the regions farther west. But while Parkman's depressing picture was a true characterization of the majority of the Indians, nevertheless missionaries, hunters, and trappers found many exceptions to the rule. An illustration of the splendid natural qualities of the Indian is found in Sacajawea, the Indian wife of Toussaint Chaboneau, who served as guide to the Lewis and Clark expedition during the most dangerous part of their journey. A yet stronger illustration is found in the Indian wife of Paul Dorion. Wilson P. Hunt had charge of John Jacob Astor's first party of American fur traders. Just below the point where the Boise enters the Snake River. Hunt built a trading post on an island in the Snake River and left it in charge of Paul Dorion. Soon after Hunt and the fur traders left this little post it was attacked by Indians and every man killed save one white man, and he was severely wounded; only Dorion's Indian wife, now a widow, and her two children were left unhurt. After the attacking

party withdrew Madame Dorion placed the wounded white man on a horse and she mounted another horse with her two children, and they succeeded in escaping from the little island and hiding in the woods. The man died that night, and the next morning the Indian woman dug the best grave she could with her knife and gave the body honorable burial. She then traveled west as rapidly as possible with one child before her and the other child behind her on one horse, while she led another horse with a bark rope. She was compelled, in order to escape the vigilance of the Indians, to avoid the trails, and travel on such lines as her Indian instinct enabled her to find until she reached the Grande Ronde. The winter was coming on and already the snow was too deep for further travel. Accordingly, she selected a sheltered spot, killed her two horses, skinned them, and made the best tent possible with the two hides and the rushes which she gathered from the marsh. She dried the meat of the horses and tried to keep the children alive during the winter. One of the children died, but she bore her grief like a stoic. In the spring she took the remaining child, Baptiste Dorion, on her back, and traveled on foot through the snows of the mountains toward the Walla Walla region, and from there on to Fort Vancouver. What finer material for missionary work can any nation or race furnish? Sacajawea, the Indian woman who served as guide to the Lewis and Clark expedition, has been immortalized in bronze. Surely, Madame Dorion deserves an equal monument.

But the highest proof of the power of Christianity among the Indians was the lasting character of some of the conversions. It is true that most of the Indians back-

slid, but many reversions to the original type characterize every great religious revival among all races of men. Indeed, Matthew Arnold finds the key to Isaiah's writings, the key to the history of Israel in general, and the key to the history of the human race, in the doctrine of "The Remnant." Isaiah's hope is based on the conviction that a remnant shall be saved and this was the only hope of all the Jewish reformers after the ten tribes abandoned the religion of Jehovah and the other two tribes were honeycombed by pagan practices. Certainly, a remnant among the Indian converts remained true to God. Dr. Hines, in his Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, records meeting, about 1868, a score of Indians, converted in the great revivals of 1839-40, who were still leading consistent Christian lives. He even mentions meeting Indians in 1898, fifty-seven years after the revival of 1841, who still "held the beginnings of their confidence steadfast unto the end."[13] Mrs. Eliza Spalding Warren, daughter of the Rev. H. H. Spalding, presents a summary, whose origin she cannot trace, but which she thinks is substantially correct, of the achievements of the American Board missions from the founding of the missions down to the Whitman massacre eleven years later. "The cows brought by the missionaries had multiplied into numerous herds; the sheep given by the Sandwich Islanders had grown into flocks.[14] In the school which Mrs. Spalding

[13] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 165-169.

[14] At the time of the massacre Whitman had at Waiilatpu, not counting the other stations, about one hundred horses, two hundred cattle, and two hundred sheep (Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 739, note).

taught there had been five hundred pupils. A church of one hundred members had been gathered. The language had been reduced to writing. A patriarchal government had been established. They had adopted a code of laws. The Sabbath was observed."[15] The Rev. H. H. Spalding returned to Idaho in 1862, fifteen years after the Whitman massacre, and found still faithful to Christ some Indians who had been converted during his early ministry. Mr. Spalding supported himself by farming, but did considerable mission work among the Indians. In 1871 he was again appointed a missionary to the Nez Percé Indians—this time by the Presbyterian Board; and he died among his spiritual children August 3, 1874. During the last three years of his life he baptized over nine hundred Indians.[16] Indeed, the original Indian church which Mr. Spalding organized in 1838 still exists in the Lapwai Indian Presbyterian Church, with a full-blood Indian as pastor and more than one hundred steadfast Indian members. As a matter of fact, God deals with the human race as individuals even more than as families or nations or races.

Probably the accounts of the revivals and of the early successes of the Protestant missions among the Indians were too highly colored, and the missionaries slowly discovered that they were dealing with a diseased and degraded race. But, despite the condition of the race, or, rather, because of their critical condition, because of the rapid disappearance of the buffalo and the necessity of the Indians speedily learning farming to avoid perishing from the earth, there were all the more reasons for the

[15] Warren, Memoirs of the West, p. 11.

[16] Ibid., p. 34.

unceasing prosecution of mission work among them. The results, as seen at the close of three generations, demonstrate that there were many individual cases of superior character still existing among the Indians, and that the gospel among the Indians, as among all other peoples, is able to save unto the uttermost all who come unto God through Christ. Jason Lee, Gustavus Hines, Cyrus Shepard, Cushing Eells, Marcus Whitman, and H. H. Spalding were right in maintaining down to the end of their lives their unabated faith that many Indians would accept Christ and that he would prove the power of God unto salvation unto all who believed. Despite the sad lack of faith which characterized the Methodist bishop who ordered Lee's retirement and the lack of faith upon the part of the secretaries of the American Board and of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in hastily closing these missions, despite the Indian wars in the Oregon Country which suspended missionary work for years, despite the slowness of Protestant Christianity in resuming its Indian work, and the low standard of civilization demanded by the Roman Catholic missionaries among their wards, there has survived a remnant of the Indian race which will yet prove an honor to our country and to Christianity. The remnant would have been much larger had not the faith of the churches failed. It is worse than idle, it is false and misleading to speak of an entire race as decadent, then use that phrase to excuse our failure to evangelize that race. Christ's command is, "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations." Every person is degraded and decadent without the inner Christ. No case is hopeless which looks to Christ for help. Some souls are more deeply steeped in sin and

less willing to accept Christ than other souls; and a larger proportion of hardened souls may be found in some families, cities, nations, races, than in others. The latest teachings of evolution, according to Weismann, of Germany, and Professor E. C. Conklin, of America, are that acquired habits, good or evil, are not transmitted. In any case, salvation is the gift of God through grace by faith, and multitudes more of the Indians would have experienced it had the churches not lost faith and abandoned obedience. As it is, an impartial review of the history reveals the fact that not the American people or the churches of any or all faiths, but the Indians themselves were the primary occasion of the Oregon Missions.

Another fact must be borne in mind in estimating the indirect service of the Indians to missions; their needs in the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, in 1816-19, led to the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which later developed into the Board of Home and the Board of Foreign Missions. The article in the Encyclopædia of Missions on the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church opens as follows:

"The conversion of a colored man by the name of Stewart, and his subsequent work among the Indians, profoundly stirred the Methodist Episcopal Church and was the first impulse for the formation of the Missionary Society for the whole church."[17] Under the Divine Providence an ignorant and degraded mulatto, John Stewart, called into being the society which to-day in every State in the Union, in Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philip-

[17] The Encyclopædia of Missions, 2d ed., 1904, art., "Methodist Episcopal Church Missions."

pines, and in thirty-four nations is helping make good the divine declaration that God made of one blood all the nations of the earth. It is interesting to recall that three of the best-known men who ever worked for the salvation of the Indians—David Brainerd, Jonathan Edwards, and John Wesley—all passed through the greatest spiritual crisis of their lives in 1738. These men were far removed from each other and without knowledge of each other's inner struggles. But all were under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and under his guidance became unconscious coworkers in the kingdom of grace and glory. One hundred years later—1838—are Whitman, Spalding, and Lee, representing the same three churches: worthy successors of this apostolic group in the struggle for the conversion of the Indians. But eighty years after Wesley and twenty years before Lee, we find a providential link in the mulatto, John Stewart, whose heroic sacrifice for a dying race called forth the two great missionary societies of Methodism.

October 11-12, 1916, there was celebrated at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, the one hundredth anniversary of John Stewart's mission to the Wyandots. Not in honor of James B. Finley, in whose veins ran the best blood of the white race and whose scholastic training harked back to Princeton University; not in honor of Charles Elliott, panoplied with the best scholastic training of Europe; but in honor of the Indian-White-Negro, John Stewart, devoid of learning and sodden with drink and resolved on suicide, led, almost constrained, by the Holy Spirit into a Methodist prayer meeting, converted by the grace of God, transformed into a missionary by the Holy Spirit, and called by the voice of God to serve the Indian race, was this celebration held. Governor Willis, Bishops Anderson,

Edwin H. Hughes, and Herbert Welch; Professor R. T. Stevenson, who has recovered for posterity this heroic chapter in the history of our church;[18] Dr. F. M. Thomas for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; I. Garland Penn for the Negro race; Mrs. Bishop Thirkield for the women; Dr. A. C. Kynett, descendant of one of the missionaries to the Indians, and representing the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, distinguished visitors from Ohio and other States, gathered to honor the memory of this humble man. The monument is built with stones taken from Tymochtee Creek near by, and on the plate is a title which no man in Methodism can even claim to share with this man of mongrel blood, chosen by God as the visible sign of our divine call to serve all the races of mankind:

JOHN STEWART,
APOSTLE TO THE WYANDOTT INDIANS
FATHER OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[18] I am indebted for this paragraph largely to Professor R. T. Stevenson's Introduction to the History of the Wyandott Mission of Upper Sandusky, Ohio.

CHAPTER II

JASON LEE

"The early history of the Methodist Church [in Oregon] is the history of the first American colonization [in that State]." Bancroft.[1]

The Indians who visited Saint Louis in search of God, Dr. McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the British government, the Oregon pioneers, and the missionaries of the American Board, all contributed to the settlement of the Oregon problem. But neither the Hudson's Bay Company, the British government, nor the government of the United States, alone established civilization in that land. The early settlers would have established civilization in due time, as other leaders aside from the Puritans in due time would have introduced civilization into New England. But the decisive factors in introducing Christian civilization into Oregon, and one of the most influential factors in settling the whole Oregon problem when it was settled and as it was settled, were the Oregon Missions, embracing the work of the American and Methodist Boards. The significance of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Board is recognized by the quotation made above from the great historian of the Pacific Coast. Again Bancroft writes: "The Methodists have been foremost in propagating their principles by means of schools, as the history of Willamette University illus-

[1] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 677.

trates. In new communities these means seem to be necessary to give coherence to effort."[2] Unquestionably the American Board contributed much to the introduction of Christian civilization into the Oregon Country. Again, the United States government without the aid of any church was able to take possession of the Columbia River basin, and unquestionably it was the United States government and no church which in the end did take possession of the country. We are inclined to think that no boundary line south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude would in the end have been acceptable to the people of the United States. But it was largely due to Jason Lee, to the information he furnished, to the newspapers whose support he enlisted, to the plans of emigration which he proposed, to the land bills which he suggested, to the tide of emigration to the Pacific Coast which he started, to the petitions to Congress which he originated, to the influence which he exercised directly upon the Missionary Society, and indirectly in the halls of Congress and upon at least two administrations, that the United States government secured Puget Sound territory. He is the young man to whom President Fisk referred in Chapter I. He had been a student under Fisk at Wilbraham Academy in 1828; he was teaching in Stanstead, and awaiting a summons to missionary work among the Indians when Fisk issued his trumpet call in 1833.

Jason Lee was born June 27, 1803, at Stanstead, which is now within the bounds of Canada. He was of American blood and of Revolutionary stock. John Lee, the ancestor of Jason Lee, came to America at the age of

[2] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 678.

thirteen with the family of William Westwood. The Westwood family, including John Lee, was among the first fifty-four settlers of Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1635 the Westwoods and Lee, with others, under the leadership of Thomas Hunter, became the founders of Hartford, Connecticut. Soon after John Lee was twenty-one years of age he joined eighty-four others in the purchase of two hundred and twenty-five square miles of land of the Indians in the Connecticut Valley. This land is now occupied by Farmington, Southington, Bristol, Burlington, New Britain, Berlin, and Kensington. The old chart is still in existence which shows the boundaries of John Lee's land. The descendants of John Lee served the country in several Indian wars, and seventeen of them participated in the struggle for American independence. Colonel Noah Lee raised a regiment of Green Mountain boys and fought in important battles. Another descendant, Captain Nathan Hale, General Washington's trusted officer, became the martyr spy. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, the Rev. William Allen Lee, at one time president of Dartmouth and later of Bowdoin College; General Kirby Smith, of the Confederate Army; the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Congressional fame; the Rev. Louis O. Lee, president of the Theological Seminary of Marash, Turkey, under the American Board; and Justice William Strong, of the Supreme Court of the United States, are among the descendants of John Lee. Jason Lee was descended from John Lee through David Lee, born in Farmington in 1674; Jedediah Lee, born in Northampton in 1697; Elias Lee, born in Northampton in 1723; and Daniel Lee, born in Willington, Connecticut, in 1753. Daniel Lee, Jason Lee's father, was a soldier in the Revolu-

tionary Army, fought at the battles of Lexington, White Plains, and Long Island, and was a pensioner under the act of 1818. He was one of a large number of emigrants who went from the Connecticut Valley to New Hampshire and to northern Vermont, where he settled in 1797 on land which was supposed to be within the United States. Here Jason Lee was born. Down until the Ashburton treaty of 1842 this land was a part of the United States, and the Lee family paid taxes to the United States. When the line was finally run in 1843 it crossed the Lee farm, and Daniel Lee's house was left a stone's throw north of the line.[3]

Jason Lee was six feet, three inches tall, one inch below the height of Abraham Lincoln, powerfully built, stoop-shouldered, rather awkward and slow in movement. The pictures of Lee resemble in a rather striking manner those of ex-Justice Hughes in head and beard and firm set jaws, though Lee's hair was light and the general expression of his face was not so severe as that of Mr. Hughes. Bancroft describes him as of "light complexion, thin lips closely shut, prominent nose, and rather massive jaws; eyes of superlative spiritualistic blue, high, retreating forehead, carrying mind within; somewhat long hair, pushed back, and giving to the not too stern but positively marked features a slightly Puritanical aspect; and withal, a stomach like that of an ostrich, which would digest anything. . . . Though not devoid of worldly ambition, he was sincere and sound to the core. Strong in his possession of himself, there was nothing intrusive in his nature. Though talking was a part of his profession, his skill was

[3] Atwood, The Conquerors, pp. 206, 207.

exhibited as much in what he left unsaid as in his most studied utterances. Frank and affable in his intercourse with men, he inspired confidence in those with whom he had dealings and was a general favorite."[4]

President Fisk wrote to Jason Lee telling him of the Indian cry for light, and the young teacher accepted as providential the call to become a missionary to the Oregon Indians, was admitted to the New England Conference and ordained. After his selection Lee was kept in the Eastern States nearly a year waiting for an emigrant train to the West, in the meantime addressing churches and securing money to finance the enterprise. During the year Bishop Emory opened the way for him, and he visited Washington and secured the indorsement of President Jackson and the secretaries of state and war, to found a mission in the Oregon Country, then under the joint occupation of Great Britain and the United States. This meeting gave him access to the heads of the United States government throughout his missionary career. In the meantime Jason Lee selected his nephew, Daniel Lee, a minister in the New England Conference, and Cyrus Shepard, a teacher, of Lynn, Massachusetts, to accompany him. These three men, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, joined Captain N. J. Wyeth, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who was going west to found a fur company, and they started from Saint Louis on their long journey April 28, 1834, although Jason Lee had bidden his friends farewell and left home three and a half months earlier. Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker, of Richmond, Missouri, were also engaged as

[4] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 57.

teachers, and joined the caravan when it passed through Independence, Missouri. Walker agreed to teach for one year, and after his term expired he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The mission group crossed the plains with a company of some seventy men, largely hunters and fur traders, two hundred and fifty horses, and some cattle taken by the missionaries. One night when the horses were stampeded and every one expected the Indian warwhoop to sound, Jason Lee led a few of the bravest men in recapturing the animals; and from that hour no man doubted the courage any more than he had previously doubted the piety of the Methodist preacher. "Looks as though he were well calculated to buffet difficulties in a wild country," wrote Townsend, one of his fellow travelers.[5]

Bancroft says of Lee's fellow laborers, Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, Courtney M. Walker, and P. L. Edwards: "Nor were his associates broad-collared, long-haired, Puritanical prayer-mongers, but wide-awake, hearty, and sympathetic men, bent on saving souls and having a good time."[6]

On June 15, 1834, the travelers reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains, soon after passing which the missionaries changed to a company under the leadership of Captain Thomas McKay, an American hunter and trapper, because Captain Wyeth and his men planned to stop and erect a fort, which Wyeth named Fort Hall, at the junction of the Oregon and Missouri with the Canadian and Utah trails. When the Indians from the Columbia River region,

[5] Townsend's Narrative, p. 24. Quoted by Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 61, note.

[6] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 61.

who were with Captain McKay, learned that Lee was journeying to the Oregon Country to teach the Indians a knowledge of the true God and how to worship him, they expressed great joy, and presented him with two horses. Jason Lee secured permission to preach to Captain McKay's men, as he had done to Captain Wyeth's, and preached the first Protestant sermon west of the Rocky Mountains July 27, 1834, at the point where Captain Wyeth built Fort Hall. The need of religion and the slight impression of the sermon alike are shown by the fact that the company adjourned from the service to a horse race, in which one of the men was thrown from his horse and killed; and Jason Lee conducted the first American Protestant funeral service west of the Rocky Mountains on the next day. Captain McKay's company reached Fort Vancouver, on the north bank of the Columbia River and six miles from the mouth of the Multnomah or Willamette, September 16, 1834.[7] Here Jason Lee preached the first Protestant sermon on the Pacific Coast September 28, 1834. December 14 Lee baptized the first ingathering of his mission, consisting, not of full-blood Indians, but of four adult members of the Hudson's Bay Company and seventeen half-breed children. This was the first ingathering of Protestant converts on the Pacific shore.

Meanwhile what had become of the remaining Nez Percés, and where was the tribe which was seeking light? After leaving Saint Louis for the West in 1833, the two Nez Percés fell in with George Catlin, the famous painter of Indians. But, with Indian stoicism and reserve, they did not mention the object of their visit. Indeed, Catlin

[7] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 63.

on his return East denied the whole Saint Louis story until he wrote General Clark and learned that the Indians came for the Bible and that he gave them Christian instruction, but did not give them the Book. It will interest readers and add to the romance to know that Catlin, without knowing that these Indians were to become historic, enriched his gallery with their portraits, which are numbered 207 and 208 in his collection in the Capitol at Washington, D. C. After parting from Catlin one of the two Indians died, and only one of the four reached the tribe, and he only to announce that the white men would not give the Indians the Book of Heaven. Worse still, Jason Lee on the trip out learned that the Flathead Indians were engaged in constant and bitter warfare with the Blackfeet Indians, and that they had been nearly annihilated, that they had been driven back into almost inaccessible mountains some two hundred miles north of his route, and some six hundred miles east of the Pacific Coast. But the clothing, books, and the farming utensils, garden seeds, and seed grain with which Lee was to introduce Christian civilization had been shipped on the May Dacre around Cape Horn to Fort Vancouver; and the missionaries must go on to Fort Vancouver for their goods, then induce the Coast Indians, if possible, to carry their goods and farming utensils in boats some five hundred miles east, and then on horses or on their backs northeast into the almost inaccessible mountains of Montana. The task was well-nigh impossible, and the Methodists with heavy hearts journeyed down the Pacific slope to Fort Vancouver away from the special field of service to which they supposed God had called them. The romance of the movement was beginning to fade away, and the whole

affair seemed a miserable Methodist fiasco in which zeal had outrun knowledge. Did you ever think that the Bible says nothing of Paul on crossing into Macedonia finding the identical man who appeared to him in the vision? But Paul found Macedonian heathen and concluded that he had a mission. So Jason Lee found pagan Indians in abundance in the Willamette Valley, including numerous Nez Percés, which tribe furnished three of the four Indians who made the journey to Saint Louis and to whom, as well as to the Flatheads, he had been sent. He also found Chinooks and other Coast Indians with flattened heads, thus possessing the very sign by which he expected to recognize the Indians to whom he was called.[8] He also found members of the Hudson's Bay Company who had not heard the gospel preached for years, and he was thus enabled to become a missionary to the white race as well as to the Indians. So, feeling that he was sent of God and that he was in touch with the larger portion of those who had summoned him, he decided to stay; and the four missionaries began work among the Indians in the Columbia River basin in October, 1834.

Let us leave the Methodists founding their work among the Indians while we devote several chapters to the other actors in the drama. We believe that the study of all the factors in the problem will show that God was in the movement, that he aimed at and accomplished, largely through the missionaries, a far greater work than they had dreamed of.

[8] Irving, Astoria, p. 67.

CHAPTER III

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND GREAT BRITAIN

The Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company was organized in London in 1670 for trading purposes; but, like the famous East India Company and like the British North Borneo Company of to-day, it was authorized to exercise military and civil authority, and even to make wars and to conclude peace in the name of Great Britain, over the territory which it occupied. The charter granted the company "complete lordship and entire legislative, judicial, and executive power."[1] Great Britain, in the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, had compelled Spain to grant her equal rights in the Pacific Northwest; and on Spain's virtual abandonment of the country a little later Great Britain, through the Hudson's Bay Company, exercised control over the Northwest coast from the Russian possessions down to the Mexican possessions from 1790 to 1818. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Fur Company of Montreal were consolidated by an act of the British Parliament; and Parliament granted the enlarged Hudson's Bay Company dominion and exclusive rights to the trade for the "Indian Territories," expressly declaring that these territories included all the wilderness of British North America

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xiii, p. 853a.

west of and including Rupert's land. Thus the Hudson's Bay Company "ruled the western world through seventy-five degrees of longitude, from Davis Strait to Mount Saint Elias, and through twenty-eight degrees of latitude, from the mouth of the Mackenzie to the borders of California, dominions second in size to Russia alone among the compact organizations of the world."[2] It is true that under an act of the British Parliament in 1821, the authority of the Canadian government was extended over all British subjects throughout this territory.[3] But even Dr. McLoughlin seldom sent a man to the Canadian courts for trial and punishment. He ordered an Indian tied to the cannon at Fort Vancouver and whipped; and a Canadian committing the same offense was punished in the same manner.[4] Other agents of the company disregarded the law more fully than did Dr. McLoughlin. An Indian was reported to James Douglas, whom McLoughlin trained as his successor, as having committed murder. Douglas shot the Indian without trial as he lay concealed under a bundle of skins.[5] The murder of Dr. McLoughlin's son John by a Canadian while the young man was in charge of Fort Stikeen possibly shows that the young ruler abused his power.[6]

The restoration of Astoria to American authority and the treaty of 1818 containing the clause providing for joint occupancy followed the war of 1812, and confirmed

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[2] Chambers's Encyclopædia, Philadelphia, 1884, vol. v, p. 448.
[3] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 235, 236, and 581.
[4] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 378.
[5] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 368, 369.
[6] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 236, note.

the legal right of the United States to the control of all American citizens and subjects in the Oregon Country.

Bancroft says: "It was not true that the British company controlled by law the Russian possessions in America, or strove to govern the American settlers in the Willamette Valley. By an act of Parliament the laws of Canada were extended over British subjects in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, but this was never enforced so far as Russians and Americans were concerned."[7] This statement is carefully guarded, and in its guarded form, it is in the main correct; but three facts must be borne in mind for a clear knowledge of the difficulties which emerged between the American and British settlers.

First. In Canada the Company built throughout her wide domain forts, trading posts, and factories, from which she exercised military and civil authority over both the Indians and the whites. After crossing the Rocky Mountains she extended her forts south of the 49th parallel into the Oregon Country. She erected Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia in 1824-25, and Fort Boise in what is now Idaho in 1834. Through Fort Boise she deprived Captain Wyeth of all the trade with the Indians at Fort Hall, and practically drove him from the field, but softened and hastened his departure by buying his fort in 1836. In addition to these three forts, she erected Forts Disappointment, George, Okanogan, Kootenai, Flat Head, Cowlitz, Nisqually, Colville, Walla Walla, and Umpqua. Through these thirteen forts,[8] or fortified trading posts, all of them south of 49°, and some

[7] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 235, 236.
[8] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 109.

of them four hundred miles south of that parallel, she ruled as far south as the then northern border of Mexico, not only her employees, but the Indians occupying the two countries; and she continued this rule from 1821 down to the appointment of Dr. White in 1842 and the establishment of the provisional government in 1843.

Second. Although joint occupancy by the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States was provided for by the treaty of 1818, nevertheless citizens of the United States, through the failure of Congress to provide for them a government, entered that country as isolated trappers and hunters, without either financial or governmental backing, and thus were led, though reluctantly, to depend upon the Hudson's Bay Company for the maintenance of law and order. Occasionally, indeed, as in ordering Ewing Young not to distill and sell liquor, and in tearing down the log house of Alderman and Williamson and in threatening to send Williamson to York Factory for trial before a British justice, the Company attempted to impose British authority upon the Americans. In the first of these three cases the moral, though not the legal, right was clearly on its side. In the second, tearing down the log cabin of Alderman and Williamson, opinion was much divided, the Executive Committee of the American Provisional Government deciding in favor of McLoughlin. But John Minto and H. S. Lyman, both of them intelligent and fair men, claim, with good reason, that Alderman and Williamson had a better right to the one square mile of land which they claimed north of the Columbia River than the Hudson's Bay Company had to the thirty-five miles east and west, which it claimed along the north bank of the Columbia "as far

back as their stock traveled."[9] Moreover, in Williamson's case, James Douglas's threat to arrest an American citizen and send him in chains to York Factory for trial before a British justice of the peace was full of danger.

Third. The Hudson's Bay Company's method of dealing with white American competitors usually was not by attempting to impose British law, but by the far harsher, though strictly legal, process of utterly destroying their trade through competition, and thus driving them from the country. She treated all American visitors with rare hospitality, but she exercised her legal right of refusing to trade with all American companies and of refusing to trade with all Indians who ventured to trade with American companies. She thus drove, one after another, nine American fur companies from the field.

An illustration of the policy of the North-West Fur Company, which occupied the north of the Columbia River from 1814-21,[10] is its treatment of John Jacob Astor. In 1811 Mr. Astor had sent a ship around Cape Horn and a company of sixty men across the continent to found Astoria some twelve miles east of the entrance of the Columbia River. On February 15, 1812, Wilson P. Hunt, and a few companions, out of the sixty men who started, succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Columbia and founding Astoria, having suffered great hardships on the way. Mr. Astor had taken into his company some British subjects from Canada, among them Duncan McDougal, who betrayed him. War between the United States and Great Britain broke out in 1812. The North-West Fur Company sent the Isaac Todd around the Horn with a

[9] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, p. 391, note.

[10] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 292.

letter of marque to capture and destroy Astoria, and also J. J. McTavish and seventy-five men across the continent to take charge of the stores and pelts after the post should be captured by the Isaac Todd. McTavish arrived October 7, 1813, before the ship; all his provisions and ammunition were exhausted and he was thus at the mercy of Astor's company. Mr. Hunt had gone to the Sandwich Islands and Duncan McDougal was in charge of the post. McDougal was one of Astor's partners and the one whom Astor had intrusted with legal authority to represent him. So far from resisting McTavish's claims and preserving the property of Astor, he sold the post and all its stores to the North-West Fur Company for $80,500,[11] although there were rumors that the furs were worth $1,000,000,[12] probably altogether too high an estimate. After the sale McDougal was taken into partnership with the Company, the Company thus revealing her participation in McDougal's betrayal of Astor. McDougal was regarded by the Americans as a traitor, by the British as a cheat, and by the Indian Concomly as a squaw.[13] A little later the British armed ship Raccoon arrived, formally captured Astoria, raised the British flag, and renamed the post Fort George. Mr. Hunt on arriving from the Sandwich Islands on February 15, 1814, and finding all the goods sold and the post in the hands of Great Britain, took ship April 3, 1814, back to the Islands and on to the United States. April 4, 1814; all the Americans who had belonged to the

[11] Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, vol. ii, p. 331.

[12] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 293.

[13] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 294. But it should be added that Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, vol. ii, pp. 221-225, stoutly defends McDougal.

post started back east overland. Fortunately, this formal capture compelled Great Britain under the terms of the treaty of peace to restore Fort George to the United States and the name was changed back to Astoria. The entire venture proved so costly and unfortunate that Mr. Astor made no further attempts to trade on the Columbia, and the post practically reverted to the North-West Fur Company. After the erection of Fort Vancouver, during the winter of 1824-25, Astoria became a small trading post.

These methods of banishing American competitors through monopoly of trade and through establishing military and civil authority over her own white people and over the Indians were unchallenged until the Methodist missionaries, who did not desire to buy furs or sell goods to the Indians, settled south of the Columbia in 1834, and until the missionaries of the American Board settled at Lapwai, Idaho, and at Waiilatpu, Washington, in 1836, and until the Methodists began preaching north of the Columbia in 1838 and settled there in 1839. Apparently, the arrival of the American missionaries, who did not come for trade, was entirely unexpected. Dr. McLoughlin, with no orders from his superiors in London, with the innate kindness of the Christian gentleman, with the loneliness of the wilderness upon him, and with his parental interest in the spiritual welfare of his Canadian servants and of his Indian wards, welcomed these missionaries and showed them every kindness. There was no occasion for the Hudson's Bay Company to call upon the missionaries to obey British law, for their conduct was within all civil law. But a little later there was occasion at times for the Hudson's Bay Company to exercise authority for the protection of American citizens from the

Indians, and such authority was always promptly exercised. When a few white Americans gathered around the missionary post for safety, the question of sovereignty became perplexing. Dr. McLoughlin apparently at first suggested that Jason Lee, supported by himself, should exercise such authority as was necessary over American citizens, as he exercised authority over the British subjects and the Indians; and Lee, instead of taking the office himself, appointed the Rev. David Leslie justice of the peace to represent American authority.

It was a condition and not a theory which confronted the Hudson's Bay Company. Her officers well knew that the Columbia River Basin could not remain a game preserve and at the same time become an American settlement. Already the Company had been driven west stage after stage by the advance of British and of American civilization; and it was now defending its last intrenchment on the Pacific Coast, south of the Russian game preserves. But under the treaty of joint occupation the Company had no right whatever to exclude American missionaries from this region. In these conditions Dr. McLoughlin and the chief officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country pursued the only honorable and the only wise course. A struggle against these men who were not competitors in the fur trade would have revealed so plain a purpose to violate the treaty providing for joint occupation that it speedily would have led to war; and war with the United States any time after 1830 in all probability would have terminated in the American occupancy of the land. Besides, Drs. John McLoughlin and William Frazer Tolmie, Mr. Edward Huggins and Mr. Heron were Christian men and felt their

responsibility for the spiritual welfare of both the whites and the Indians. Dr. McLoughlin always observed the Lord's Day at Fort Vancouver, and while he remained an Anglican read the services of the Established Church every Sunday with impressive reverence.[14] Dr. Tolmie and Mr. Heron observed Sunday at Fort Nisqually and held the first service ever conducted on the Northwest Coast for Indians in December, 1833. Dr. McLoughlin established a school for the half-breed children of the officers and employees of the Company, to which some Indian children were admitted; and Solomon Smith, a citizen of the United States who came to Oregon with Wyeth on his first trip in 1832, was employed by the Company to teach the children of Fort Vancouver English branches, singing, deportment, and morality, before a missionary arrived. The directors of the Company in London were humane when humanity did not interfere with dividends. At and around their posts in Canada they encouraged the Roman Catholic priests to go among the Indians and baptize them, in order that the children of the forest might attain felicity in another world; but the directors did not plan that the Indians should reach civilization in this world. The school at Fort Vancouver was due to the humanity of Dr. McLoughlin and was conducted without orders from and probably without the knowledge of the directors in London.

As directors of the Company in London learned of the presence of American missionaries in their game preserves, they recognized the danger to their trade and also to the sovereignty of the British nation. About the same time

[14] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 10.

there was a call from the French-Canadian Catholics in the Oregon Country for the spiritual ministry of men of their own race and tongue and church. Hence the Company arranged, in 1838, for the transportation of two Catholic priests, probably hoping that they would take possession of the religious field, as the Company had taken possession of the land politically and commercially. The competition of the Protestant missionaries and the priests soon aroused the savage Indians to such an extent as revealed the danger of pushing out the Protestant missionaries by taking possession of their fields. How Dr. McLoughlin's conduct in ever admitting the Protestant missionaries to the field was regarded in London later is seen in the following editorial utterance of Fisher's Colonial Magazine for January, 1843: "By a strange and unpardonable oversight of the local officers of the Company, missionaries from the United States were allowed to take religious charge of the population; and these artful men lost no time in introducing such a number of their countrymen as reduced the influence of the small number of British settlers to a minimum."

The religious struggle for the conversion or baptism of the Indians inevitably developed into a political struggle for the possession of the lower Columbia between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Methodist missionaries who came out in 1834, while the missions in the upper Columbia region led to a more serious struggle between the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company and Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, who came out in 1836; the reports of the missionaries in both cases bringing permanent American settlers to the country. Indeed, before the arrival of settlers the efforts of the missionaries in

behalf of American authority were reenforced by a few American hunters and trappers who came and went according to their desires.

Meantime Dr. McLoughlin received orders from London not to sell to the Indians or the missionaries any hoes or spades or plows or cattle, thus showing that the directors of the Company were fully committed to the plan of keeping the Indians as well as the whites back from any settled civilization. The orders seemed to Dr. McLoughlin, with his large heart and broad sympathies, severe, but he carried them out. The Hudson's Bay Company, through the kindness of Dr. McLoughlin, supplied the needs of the Methodist missionaries until they were able to provide for themselves, "even although," in the words of the Encyclopædia Britannica, "it is the manifest interest of monopolists to retard the advance of civilization toward their hunting grounds."[15] It was this fundamental difference in aim between a fur company desiring to keep the country in its wild state as a vast game preserve and a missionary party desiring the speedy Christianization and civilization of Indians and whites, their settlement upon the lands, and the establishment of homes, which led to divergent policies and brought on the scarcely concealed conflict between the Company and the Protestant missionaries. The Hudson's Bay Company, as was entirely proper, made an earnest effort to secure the territory for its own government, Great Britain. It must be recognized that the Company also, by preserving order around its vast domains, among the Indians, among its own employees, and in part by maintaining order and furnishing food,

[15] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xiii, p. 853a.

shelter, and medicine to Americans who reached Fort Vancouver, contributed to the maintenance of peace and of the existing civilization within the Oregon Country.

Great Britain. The first white man to cross North America was Alexander Mackenzie. He accomplished the great journey and reached the Pacific Ocean July 23, 1793, at the mouth of an inlet called the Cascade Canal, north latitude 52° 20′. In his narrative he tells of the Indians calling the mountain range which he crossed the Shining Mountains, or Mountains of Bright Stones. The Indians thus named these mountains to distinguish their bare, stony sides from the mountains covered with forests. The British modified the name into Stony Mountains and the Americans transformed the name Stony Mountains into the more imposing title, Rocky Mountains. Thus Mackenzie gave to the world the first translation of the Indian name for our greatest mountain range. He advanced the geographical knowledge of North America over a wider area than any other human being. Credit a British subject with the heroic feat of first crossing the North American continent.

The British government often appointed the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company justices of the peace, so that they might exercise civil authority. We do not think these agents were blamable for stretching their authority at times. The lives of all the white men—American as well as British—often depended upon the prompt exercise of strong authority, and the United States government had failed to provide any civil authority whatever. Hence in times of crisis the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company and the government pursued the only practicable course. History shows that, in general, they

left the Americans to control themselves and, as already mentioned, encouraged Jason Lee through David Leslie, to exercise authority over the American settlers in the Willamette Valley. Moreover, they generally induced the Indians to punish their own criminals. The lack of American authority in Oregon was due to the failure of Congress rather than to opposition by the British government or the Hudson's Bay Company. But history also shows that, as a matter of fact, British authority was the only authority exercised south as well as north of the Columbia River down to 1843. We must credit Dr. McLoughlin and the British government with success in securing 157,000 square miles out of the 443,000 square miles of the disputed territory, whereas had the issue reached a forcible decision, Great Britain probably would have lost it all. So far from regarding this outcome as proof of overreaching on the part of the Company or the British government, it seems to us a demonstration rather of the foresight, the firmness, and also of the fairness of the British government, and especially of Dr. McLoughlin.

Upon the whole, the British government surpassed the United States government by providing for the legal control of her own people and of the Indians, without necessarily trenching upon our rights. The Hudson's Bay Company, under Dr. McLoughlin, upon the whole, exercised the large authority committed by the government to the Company with wisdom. The disappointment of the British people over the loss of the Puget Sound region sprang out of ignorance of the situation and led to unjust criticism of the government, of the Company, and especially of Dr. McLoughlin. Unless the American missionaries, the American pioneers, and the United

States government had wholly failed, the British government in the final treaty could not have gained a single foot more of the territory than she did secure. Indeed, had it not been for the good judgment and fine character of Dr. McLoughlin and for the Divine Providence, the British government would not have retained a foot of ground on the Pacific Coast. But that calls for another chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DR. McLOUGHLIN

Lyman in one of his noblest passages says, "The old Oregon from California to Alaska and from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, had already attracted the thought and obtained the action of the brightest men of all nations: Cortez from the Spaniards, Drake and Cook from the English, La Perouse from the French, Peter the Great and Catherine II from the Russians, Ledyard, Jefferson, and Astor from the Americans." To these he adds John McLoughlin, whom he ranks among the heroes.[1]

John McLoughlin was born October 19, 1784, in Parish La Riviere du Loup, one hundred and twenty miles below Quebec, Canada. His father was born in Ireland and his mother, of Scotch parents, in Canada.[2] He was a giant in body, mind, and heart, being six feet, four inches in height, of fine physical proportions, and of character matching his body. In the case of Dr. McLoughlin and Jason Lee, we see two giants contending for the possession of an empire. Young McLoughlin secured a good general education in Canada, then completed a thorough medical course in Scotland. He entered the service of the North-West Fur Company of Montreal and was retained by the Hudson's Bay Company when the two companies were

[1] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 354.

[2] Holman, Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 23.

consolidated. In due time his skill as a physician, his business abilities, his political sagacity, and his sterling character raised him to the post of chief factor of the Company on the Pacific Coast. In this capacity he exercised political and commercial authority over some 443,000 square miles of territory, and he used his authority in a kindly manner, but in the highest interests of the Company. He was wise, usually self-possessed, and he had a genius for friendship. His Company and the American settlers drifted into the sharpest political and commercial competition. But while Dr. McLoughlin enforced some harsh decrees adopted by the directors of the Company in London, he himself never lost the instincts of a physician, the principles of a just man, nor the charity of a Christian; and he rendered all with whom he came in contact, including his American competitors, innumerable acts of service. Though at times, on orders from London, he refused to sell Americans certain kinds of goods either on credit or for cash, yet he seldom if ever refused credit to an American settler. We are sorry to add that some of these settlers failed to pay their debts, though they became able to do so, and Dr. McLoughlin bore the loss.

When Captain N. J. Wyeth visited the Columbia River region in 1834, following the custom of the great majority of New England grocers of that time, he included liquors in the goods which he shipped to the mouth of the Columbia for sale. Dr. McLoughlin's Journal contains the statement: "From morality and policy I stopped the sale and issue of spirituous liquor to the Indians, but to do this effectually I had to stop the sale of liquor to all whites. In 1834, when Mr. Wyeth, of Boston, came, he began by selling liquor, but on my assuring him the Hudson's Bay

Company sold no liquor to whites or Indians, he immediately adopted the same rule."[3] The facts show the moral initiative of Dr. McLoughlin and the good judgment of Captain Wyeth in following the Doctor's example. Jason and Daniel Lee owed Dr. McLoughlin undying gratitude. When they arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1834 Dr. McLoughlin wisely advised Jason Lee to settle in the Willamette Valley and teach the Indians religion and farming. The advice was in the interests of the Company, which desired all the white settlers to be gathered into one location south of the Columbia and under the Company's supervision. But the founding of the Mission in the Willamette Valley was even more advantageous to the missionaries than to the Company. Dr. McLoughlin also invited Jason Lee to preach at Fort Vancouver where, as we have already seen, he soon baptized four adults and seventeen half-breed children. In March, 1836, he presented Lee with a purse of $130, which he had collected from his own helpers, with a prayer for the blessing of "our heavenly Father, without whose assistance we can do nothing, that of his infinite mercy he may vouchsafe to bless and prosper your pious endeavors."[4] The Willamette Valley proved to be a large region, remarkable for the mildness of its climate and the fertility of its soil. In 1838 Lee started back to the States to report to the Missionary Society and the government, and to bring more American recruits. These recruits, in the very nature of the case, would tend to drive away the fur-bearing animals upon which the Company depended for its profits, and they

[3] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, p. 215.

[4] Hines, Oregon: Its History, Condition, and Prospects, p. 16.

would also tend to strengthen the hold of the Americans upon the country which Dr. McLoughlin desired for Great Britain. Some three months after Jason Lee's departure Lee's wife died in childbirth, and Dr. McLoughlin sent a courier at his own expense all the way from Fort Vancouver to Westport, Missouri, to overtake the preacher of the gospel and inform him of the death of his wife and the infant son. Again, when Jason Lee returned to Oregon in 1840 with fifty-two American men, women, and children—a number which openly challenged the supremacy of the Company—Dr. McLoughlin received him with his old-time friendship and hospitality, assuring him that there was always room enough at Fort Vancouver for "Jason Lee and all of his." Again, when Daniel Lee, under the long winter rains of the Oregon coast and his heavy labors and responsibilities, developed tuberculosis, Dr. McLoughlin sent him at his own expense to the Sandwich Islands, and thus enabled him to recover his health and to live and work for half a century longer.

In 1838 Lee told McLoughlin of his desire to open a mission station at Fort Nisqually, about twenty miles below what is now Tacoma and one hundred miles north of the Columbia, and within the territory to which the Company laid special claim for Great Britain. Dr. McLoughlin must have recognized that this proposal involved some danger to British supremacy in the Puget Sound region; nevertheless, he was so influenced by his desire to see the Indians saved and by his friendship for Jason Lee that he wrote to A. C. Anderson, then in charge of Fort Nisqually, directing him to open the way for Lee to establish a station there. The Rev. David Leslie and W. H. Willson were sent to select a site and erect build-

ings. They arrived April 10, 1839, and were welcomed by the Hudson's Bay Company's factor; and on April 17, 1839, the first tree was cut for the mission buildings.[5] When Lee, in 1840, sent the Rev. J. P. Richmond, M.D., and his family to preach and teach among the Indians at Fort Nisqually, Dr. McLoughlin wrote another letter to Dr. Tolmie, requesting him to loan Dr. Richmond cows sufficient to supply the mission with milk, and to use his kindly offices in making the mission comfortable. It was in recognition of Dr. McLoughlin's early services in inviting Lee to settle in the Willamette Valley, in inviting him to preach and baptize converts at Fort Vancouver, and in raising the subscription for him, that Lee wrote to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church as follows on March 28, 1837: "At the special request of Dr. McLoughlin, I am about to send him a note of introduction to you. Would it not be well to present him a certificate of life membership in our Missionary Society? We have been obliged to draw frequently upon him for medicine, for which he refuses to take any remuneration. I mentioned in my last letter that I was fully convinced that this country would be settled at no distant period."[6] It was by such services not only to the Lees but to other Americans that Dr. McLoughlin displayed his manliness and at the same time advanced the permanent interests of his Company and his country, for fairness and kindliness are political and business assets of real value. Lyman writes, "It is stated that the cargo of the annual ship sent from the Columbia to England was worth £200,000 sterling. . . . It is thought that during its occupancy of the

[5] Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound, p. 488.

[6] Atwood, The Conquerors, pp. 54, 55.

Columbia Valley as much as twenty-eight million dollars' worth of furs were sent to the London stockholders."[7] In the Oregon Country—that is, the region west of the Rocky Mountains between 42° and 54° 40′ north latitude—Dr. McLoughlin declares that since 1826 the Americans had outnumbered the British.[8] Again, he declares that as early as 1826 there were as many as five hundred American trappers on the Snake River.[9] We think Dr. McLoughlin made an overestimate of the number of Americans west of the Rocky Mountains, though he doubtless possessed, through his own hunters and trappers who traversed the entire region, better data than any other man for a correct estimate. The total number of American immigrants in the Willamette Valley at the end of 1841 was perhaps no more than four hundred.[10] It was not until after the arrival of Dr. White's party in 1842 that the Americans in the Willamette Valley were able to carry the measure for the provisional government, and then only by the aid of two or three Canadian votes. But Dr. McLoughlin was forced to consider the entire region which he governed, and in this region, as a whole, with bold and resolute Americans outnumbering the British, and with the American nation occupying the adjoining portion of the continent, kindness was a far wiser policy than harshness. We have striking illustrations of the opposite policy which Dr. McLoughlin, under the spur of the London directors, enforced in two or three

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[7] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 375.

[8] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 500, note.

[9] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 374.

[10] Garry, Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, vol. i, p. 370.

cases. We condense the account from Bancroft.[11] On the arrival of the American immigrants in 1844 Dr. McLoughlin refused Michael T. Simmons permission to live in Fort Vancouver with his family during the winter of 1844-45 unless he would agree to settle south of the Columbia River. Simmons at once decided that the north side of the Columbia River was more desirable; he secured a log house for the winter and in the spring of 1845 set out for Puget Sound with five other American men. Dr. McLoughlin's enforcement of his claims against Henry Williamson and Isaac W. Alderman provoked conflict and threatened to develop into war. Dr. McLoughlin possibly was within his technical rights because his Company already was using for pasture the land to which Williamson and Alderman laid claim, and he was sustained by the provisional government of Oregon. Alderman especially was a violent and unprincipled character who was killed in 1848 in California "under circumstances that justified the homicide."[12] "Thus," as Bancroft well observes, "by an effort to avoid the censure of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, some of whom had influence with members of the British cabinet, by keeping American settlers south of the Columbia River, McLoughlin provoked their opposition and hastened the beginning of their occupancy in the region about that beautiful inland sea, which the Company had no doubt at that time would come into the possession of Great Britain."[13] Had some other man been chief factor, and had he not been harsh but simply firm and unyielding in

[11] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 458-465.

[12] Ibid., vol. i, p. 459, note.

[13] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 464-465.

maintaining what he considered to be the legal rights of his Company and his country, such firmness would have been regarded by the Americans as harshness and would have led to a struggle which, judging by the wars of 1776 and 1812, must have resulted in defeat for Great Britain. Again when the inevitable struggle arose on the Pacific Coast and the loss by the British of the territory north of the Columbia became evident, Dr. McLoughlin saw to it that the disappointment of the officers and employees of the Company and of British subjects did not precipitate bloodshed between them and the American settlers. Dr. McLoughlin saved for Great Britain far more of the land embraced in the original territory than a hard-headed chief factor could have secured. It will be remembered that the political campaign of 1844 in the United States was carried on with the winning party using as its campaign cry, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." The Democratic party, which was the war party, won by a large majority, and by this campaign cry was committed to the extension of the American boundaries as far north as the Russian possessions. While the sober judgment of the Democratic leaders never approved this extreme claim, and while these leaders did not really desire to add to the United States large territory to the north which they feared would exclude slavery, yet with their campaign cry and pledges, a single harsh act on Dr. McLoughlin's part might easily have precipitated a war with the United States for the entire territory up to the Russian line.

Another important fact must be borne in mind. The purchase of Alaska and the settlement of the Alaskan boundary gives the United States a coast line along the southern border of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands almost

the entire distance across the Pacific, as far west as Chicagof Harbor, Attu Island, 186° 47′ west longitude, that is, almost to the borders of Asia.[14] Nor is this stretch of sea coast across the north Pacific valueless. On the contrary, it abounds in harbors like Resurrection Bay, Chiginig Bay, Denmark Bay, Dutch Harbor, Unalaska Bay, Constantine Harbor, Kiska Island and Bay, and Chicagof Harbor, each of which is open all the year and is large enough to hold a large navy. The report of the recent survey of these harbors by the United States has been pronounced the most important geographical information of this century. For strategic purposes these harbors are of incalculable value. With this coast line across the northern borders of the Pacific Ocean along the shortest route to Asia, and with our harbors in the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Panama, and along the coast from Mexico to British America, we are sure that the best interests of the United States and of Christendom were conserved by Great Britain securing the fine harbors on the coast from 49° to 54° 40′; and we do not know any man in the Hudson's Bay Company, in Canada, or among the British statesmen of that day who could have held this territory for Great Britain aside from John McLoughlin. The fiery Douglas, who became McLoughlin's successor, would have lost it in the first controversy with Americans.

Finally, when the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company in London criticized Dr. McLoughlin for his generous treatment of Americans, his self-respect led him to resign his office, thus surrendering his almost unlimited authority over a territory four times as large as Great

[14] Nelson's Encyclopædia, art., "Alaska."

Britain, and his income of $12,000 a year. Moreover, through these very acts of humanity and real statesmanship, Dr. McLoughlin came in the end to be regarded by the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company in London and by the people of Great Britain as a traitor to his country. Indeed, the feeling that he was an outcast from his own country led him to throw in his lot with the Americans and become a citizen of Oregon. But the Americans in Oregon had suffered too much from the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and had become too partisan to treat the head of that Company on the Pacific Coast with justice, not to speak of generosity. Even the Methodists, including, as he believed for a time, Jason Lee, whom he had trusted more fully than any other man among the Americans, appeared to betray him in his old age; and he bitterly resented the "jumping" of a part of his claim to the site of Oregon City by a member of the Methodist Mission in 1840. As we show in Chapter XIII, entitled "Lee's Sun Sets," Lee supported McLoughlin at the cost of the support of his fellow missionaries and at a time when he greatly needed their support.

The Oregon Legislature later accepted Lee's view. But the restitution by the Oregon Legislature of Dr. McLoughlin's rights did not come until after his death; and the noble old man lived his last years, as he himself said, "a man without a country," and died in loneliness September 3, 1857, at Oregon City, at the age of seventy-three.[15] The disappointing close of John McLoughlin's life with his lonely death is one of the tragedies of the Oregon Country. For more than a century Great Britain and the United States have failed to recognize him. Believing that citi-

[15] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 130.

zens of all countries in the long run desire to render justice to their fellow citizens, we anticipate the time when British historians will honor the memory of John McLoughlin as the man who saved her the northern section of the Oregon territory and secured his country an everlasting position on the Pacific Ocean. We trust the time will come when citizens of Oregon and the United States will recognize him as an American citizen and raise a monument to the memory of the man who knew how to yield an empire to the arbitrament of justice and to the inevitable march of civilization, and who thus gave our country her just rights without a bitter war. Lyman, in opening his sketch of over seventy pages of Dr. McLoughlin's career, writes this wise and just estimate of the leader of the British forces for the possession of an imperial domain: "It almost forces itself upon one to say . . . that a period of twenty years of uncertainty and dispute over a territory that was felt to carry with it the empire of North America, and even dimly that of the Pacific Ocean, could have been covered under no other hand than that of McLoughlin without drenching the soil of Oregon with blood."[16] Surely, the time will come when the people of Great Britain and the United States—Protestants and Catholics—all will join in honoring the memory of the man whose sense of justice and whose Christian kindliness conserved not only the highest interests of his country and his church, but of humanity as well, and who, by his services, his position, and his character, looms as the largest single factor in the early history of the Northwest Coast.

[16] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 357.

CHAPTER V

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Roman Catholic Church has been noted for its work among the Indians. In time her work has extended from the earliest settlements in the New World down to the present moment and in area over both North and South America. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Roman Catholic Church became a factor in the settlement of the Northwest Boundary dispute, and a still more important factor in the subsequent life of the Indians. The presence of the Methodist and American Board missionaries in the Oregon Country naturally led the French Canadians to desire missionaries of their own faith. Accordingly, the Hudson's Bay Company furnished transportation to Oregon for Fathers F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers in 1838. The Methodist missionaries had told the Indian women not to live with the white men unless the white men would marry them; and several French-Canadian men and Indian women had been married by the Methodist preachers. On his arrival in Oregon Father Blanchet told his members that their marriage by the Methodists was not lawful, and under the influence of the priests many of the Canadian employees were remarried. Father Blanchet describes how in a struggle against the Methodists he Christianized some of the most depraved Indians in a few days. Again he records his success in baptizing eleven children and inducing their

parents to forsake the Methodists. Father De Smet, in 1841, visited the Flatheads, after their return to the Upper Columbia, some of whom the American Board missionaries had awakened. On returning from them he founded the Mission of Saint Mary, long one of the most successful Indian missions in the Northwest. During the struggle between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics Dr. McLoughlin joined the Roman Catholic Church, November 18, 1842, and the priests won a notable victory in bringing him back into the church of his childhood. Father Blanchet, who had held the rank of vicar-general of the Oregon Mission, was raised to the rank of archbishop, Oregon being erected into an apostolic vicariate by Pope Gregory XVI December 1, 1843. Later it was erected into an ecclesiastical province with three sees—Oregon City, Walla Walla, and Vancouver Island; the first was allotted to the archbishop, the second to his brother, the Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, canon of Montreal, and the third to the Rev. Modeste Demers, who had succeeded Archbishop Blanchet as vicar-general. Archbishop Blanchet went to Europe after his consecration by the Archbishop of Quebec, and met with great success in securing funds and fellow workers for the Oregon Mission, his plea being that in conjunction with the missions in Mexico, which included California, he was saving the entire Pacific Coast to the Catholic faith. By November, 1847, he had three bishops, fourteen Jesuit priests, four oblate priests, thirteen secular priests, and thirteen sisters, aside from the lay brethren, whose numbers are not given.[1] The Catholics, as well as the Methodists, had a

[1] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 328.

larger number of lay missionaries than clerical. Archbishop Blanchet's plans were farseeing and statesmanlike; and he and the Catholic missionaries put forth heroic efforts to carry these plans out. It should be freely recognized also that the Roman Catholic missionaries by very widely extended and long-continued labors among the Indians contributed to the peace and safety of all the inhabitants of the region.

As recorded in Eell's "Marcus Whitman," the Cayuse Indians on November 29, 1847, attacked Dr. Whitman's Mission station at Waiilatpu, murdered Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and twelve other persons and took the remaining white women prisoners. Surviving members of white families slaughtered in the Whitman massacre of 1847 believed down to their death that the Roman Catholic missionaries tolerated, if they did not encourage, in the superstitious Indians the conviction that Dr. Whitman and the missionaries were spreading the disease which was sweeping them from the earth; and that it was this superstitious conviction of the Indians which aroused them to the massacre. Just following the massacre Vicar-General Brouillet arrived at the Waiilatpu Station. Father Brouillet was assigned for the night by the Indians to the home of one of the murdered missionaries. All night long the air was rent with the shrieks and groans of the white women, with whom the Indians were sating their lust. There was no protest by Father Brouillet against the satanic conduct of the Indians. The next morning, while the bodies of the slaughtered white men still lay unburied, and the women and girls were yet crying in their distress, Father Brouillet assembled the Indians who were present at the massacre and baptized their children.

The fact is undisputed, Father Brouillet himself relating it to Mr. Spalding. Two or three days later, Miss Bewley was forcibly put upon a horse and carried to the Umatilla to be the wife of Five Crows, a Cayuse chief, who under Dr. Whitman had professed the Protestant faith. Her sworn testimony, taken before Squire Walling at the trial of the murderers at Oregon City in 1848, shows that on being brought to the Umatilla the Cayuse chief received her in his lodge. In response to her entreaties, the chief told her that she might go over to the house of the priests and that he would come for her at night. Accordingly, she went over to Bishop Blanchet's house and met Bishop Blanchet, Vicar-General Brouillet, two priests, and three French laymen—seven white men in all. Five Crows came for her that evening, but she refused to go and spend the night with him. After the chief returned to his lodge, Bishop Blanchet urged her to go and be the wife of Five Crows, and Vicar-General Brouillet ordered his servant to take her over. "I fell upon my knees," she said, before the priest. 'O, do pity me, save me; don't give me up to the Indians, but shoot me.' He arose and brushed away my hands, and said to the servant to take me away. I then sprang toward the two young priests, holding my hand appealingly, but they said nothing and moved not a hand, and the servant, half-dragging, half carrying me, hurried away."[2]

We have read the evidence furnished by H. H. Spalding in the series of lectures given by him and printed in the Albany (Oregon) Democrat in 1867-68, in which Mr. Spalding charges the Roman Catholic missionaries with

[2] Warren, Memoirs of the West, p. 134.

complicity in this massacre. Bancroft holds that Spalding's mind was unbalanced by the seven days of exposure and suffering and fear through which he passed in escaping from the Indians near Waiilatpu the day following the massacre and during the journey to Lapwai, and that he remained unbalanced upon this subject.[3] The Rev. Myron Eells, while accepting Spalding's accusation against the Roman Catholic missionaries and his claim that Dr. Whitman saved the Oregon Country to the United States, nevertheless recognizes six important errors in a brief statement by Mr. Spalding in regard to Whitman saving Oregon; and he accounts for these vital errors in matters of fact on the ground that Mr. Spalding's mind was unbalanced on some topics by the massacre.[4] The Rev. H. K. Hines, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, after stating that some writers, including W. H. Gray, charged the massacre almost wholly to the influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries, adds: "The consensus of later and calmer judgment, however, has been that, while the presence of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the country, with their always unrelenting and unconcealed opposition to Protestantism, had a strong influence on many of the Indians against the missions and the missionaries, they did not seek or advise the destruction of the mission in this awful way. The controversy on this theme has been very extended, and we cannot enter upon it in this book. Still, it would not be fair to the unstudied reader if we did not say, that, after many years of examination, and a personal acquaintance with all the chief actors in the events of that thrilling era in Oregon history except Dr.

[3] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 665, note.

[4] Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 236-238.

Whitman himself, including the Catholic priests and the leading characters of the Hudson's Bay Company, such seems to us to be the most reasonable conclusion of history."[5] Bancroft says, "The position of the priests was made ground for serious accusation."[6] He recognizes that the sworn testimony at the trial convicts the priests of acquiescence in the brutal assaults of the Indian men upon the white women and girls, but adds in apology for the conduct of the priests, "It is difficult to see how they could have interfered without first having resolved to give up their mission and risk their lives."[7] He adds that at least one American man who had been wounded fled and left his wife and children in the hands of the Indians.[8] In a word, Bancroft admits the facts as to the extreme lust and brutalities of the savages and the acquiescence of the priests, but accounts for them, not through any deliberate purpose upon the part of the priests to abandon the Protestant missionaries to their fate, but through a fear so craven that white men and women, Protestant as well as Catholic, acquiesced in almost any acts which would save their lives.[9] We are clear in our conviction that the massacre was not planned or deliberately encouraged by the Roman Catholic priests. On the contrary, when Vicar-General Brouillet, the morning after the massacre, met Mr. Spalding on his way to Waiilatpu, he told Spalding of the massacre, thus enabling him to turn

[5] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 485-486.

[6] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 663.

[7] Ibid., vol. i, p. 663.

[8] Ibid., vol. i, p. 663.

[9] Ibid., vol. i, p. 663, note.

back toward Lapwai and save his life; and Brouillet was savagely rebuked by the Indians for giving Spalding warning. Moreover, the fact that Brouillet told Spalding of his baptism of the Indian children and burial of the dead whites shows that Brouillet was not conscious of guilt in this conduct. Surely, a Catholic priest would not confess his sins to a Protestant minister and then help to preserve the life of that minister and thus enable him to bruit his Catholic brother's crime to the world. Brouillet testified that he expected to be murdered for joining another white man in burying the bodies of the missionaries, and he did come near being killed because of his warning to Spalding; nevertheless, he warned the living and took part in this act of reverence for the dead. We can understand how a priest, fearing that he might be murdered for joining another white man in burying the bodies of the whites, believing in the efficacy of baptism for eternal salvation and anxious to snatch some brands from the burning, decided to baptize the children before joining in burying the bodies of the victims of the massacre. We are compelled to say that the acts of most of the white men—agents, priests, and Protestants—were unheroic and cowardly. For the first few hours, and perhaps for the first few days after the massacre, it was a sad illustration of the sudden savagery of the Indians blazing out and of panic upon the part of the whites overcoming their sense of duty; it was another case of Peter denying his Lord. It is well for us all that Jesus graciously forgives and restores; and the Catholic priests showed by their later life-long hardships and sufferings and victories that, though stampeded in a crisis, yet, like Peter, they were capable of heroic living and dying.

Turning from the sad incidents connected with the massacre to the general attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company toward the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. McLoughlin's union with that church and the transportation of Fathers Blanchet and Demers to the Pacific Coast by the Company leaves no doubt that the Company at first welcomed the Roman Catholic aid, probably on the ground that the priests would leave the Indians longer in their hunting and trapping stage; though a little later, when sectarian strife aroused the Indians to savagery and resulted in the slaughter of the Whitman group, the Company refused free transportation to additional priests. The Hudson's Bay Company had the legal right to follow its own interests as far as they did not conflict with the treaty of joint occupancy or the claims of humanity, and the priests had the right to enjoy the advantages which the favor of the Company gave them.

It has been claimed for the Hudson's Bay Company and the British and Canadian governments that they never expatriated the Indians, as the United States government has done. This claim is true, and is greatly to their credit. It has been claimed with some show of reason that the slower pace at which the priests led their wards toward civilization preserved more Indians alive than did the faster pace of the Protestant missionaries. Probably there is truth in this claim. It has been claimed further, that the Company, the British government, and the Roman Catholic Church elevated the half-breed Indians to equal political rights with the white men, and lifted the mixed race to the white man's stage of civilization. The first part of this claim is true, but the latter part is not true.

Summing up the whole case: The conduct of Bishop

Blanchet, Vicar-General Brouillet, and Mr. McBean, the Hudson's Bay Company's agent, was unheroic; white men at their best would not have been guilty of such cowardice. But, unfortunately, in the panic neither Protestant nor Catholic white men were at their best. But Peter Skeen Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, acting upon the instructions of James Douglas, the chief factor, aided by one of the priests, later purchased and delivered the captive women and children from the Indians. We must also give the Roman Catholic Church credit for resuming its missionary work earlier, after the massacre and Indian war, and prosecuting it more earnestly than the American Board, the Presbyterian Board, or the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We are glad the Protestant churches repented of their sins of omission and later resumed missionary activities, and that they have since done good work in saving the remnant of the Indians. That the work of the Roman Catholic priests was, upon the whole, more helpful to the Indians than the work of Protestant missions we do not believe. Horace S. Lyman's volumes have the general indorsement of an associate board of editors composed of Harvey W. Scott, the famous editor of the Oregonian; Charles B. Bellinger and Frederick G. Young, men of high standing and character in Oregon. After reviewing the whole history of missions down to the present time, Lyman reaches this conclusion: "That the effects of the Catholic teaching were more salutary upon the Indians than had been those of the Protestant, as has been contended by a number of historians of this State, may be doubted."[10] We ourselves doubt the

[10] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, p. 422.

superiority of the method of dealing with the Indians adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company, the British and Canadian governments, and the Roman Catholic Church. Of the 209,766 Indians in the United States in 1916, 31,665 were members of the Protestant churches, 67,176 were adherents, and 17,771 were in the Sunday schools. The Sunday school scholars in a measure duplicate the church members. But these statistics show that substantially one half of the Indians in the United States are affiliated with the Protestant churches.[11] Of the remnant of the Indians preserved, 209,766 are found in the United States and 105,492 in Canada.[12] These numbers show that the slow and partial method of advancing the Indians in civilization has not resulted in the survival of a larger

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[11] The Missionary Review of the World, October, 1916, p. 776, gives the following statistics of Protestant missions among the Indians:

	Members.	Adherents.	S. S. Scholars.
Baptists	5,408	13,582	1,220
Congregationalists	1,331	3,000	463
Methodist Episcopal	2,500	6,000	1,750
Methodist Episcopal, South	2,875	7,187	766
Presbyterian, North	8,955	18,319	7,915
Protestant Episcopal	6,982	10,000	1,500
Others	3,614	9,088	4,157
Totals	31,665	67,176	17,771

These figures show that nearly one half of the 209,000 surviving Indians are members or adherents of some Protestant church, and that of this number the Presbyterians have the largest number of church members and the largest number of adherents, and that the Protestant Episcopal Church ranks next.

[12] World Almanac, 1917, p. 519.

number of Indians in Canada than in the United States. We have read, though we cannot recall the authority, that the rate of increase to-day is not so rapid among the Indians of Canada as among the Indians of the United States. On the other hand, the original Indian population of Canada was smaller than that of the United States; and Canada probably has preserved a larger proportion of the aboriginal population than we have. Again, the American schools in which the Indians living in the United States have been educated, while more largely taught by Roman Catholics than by Protestants, are supported by the United States government and not by Roman Catholic gifts. The government spent $4,391,000 for Indian education for the year ending June 30, 1916.[13] Consequently, credit for this work belongs to the United States government rather than to the Roman Catholic or to any Protestant church. Moreover, the fact that the Indians in the United States are making more progress than the Indians of Canada is due to larger opportunities in the United States than the Canadian government is offering them. Possibly their advance in civilization and in their acceptance of republican institutions is due to Protestant rather more than to Roman Catholic influences. All students of the Indian race must give credit both to Roman Catholic and to Protestant missionaries for its preservation; and it is safer as well as more modest to leave to Christ on the Judgment Day the apportionment of the praise which belongs to each of these heroic bands of workers.

[13] World Almanac, 1917, p. 519.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

We shall not take time to discuss the claims of the United States to the entire Oregon Country through Captain Robert Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia in 1792, through our purchase from France in 1803 of the Louisiana Territory and of the entire French claims to the Northwest Coast, through the Lewis and Clark exploration of the Columbia River region in 1804-06, through the founding of the trading post of Astoria in 1811, through our purchase from Spain in 1819 of Florida, and of the entire Spanish claims to the Northwest Coast based on the Spanish discoveries. Suffice it to say that both the United States and Great Britain presented plausible claims to the entire coast. The United States had a better title than any other nations could show to the valley of the Columbia, comprising the coast as far north as perhaps the 49th parallel of north latitude. But even this rich region "the United States all but lost by reason of the indifference of the American Government and people."[1]

To understand clearly the early indifference of our government to this coast we must remember that one fact of vast importance in determining the value of the Northwest Coast seems at that time not to have been recognized by

[1] Bruce, Romance of American Expansion, p. 108.

our government or people. The Japan Current, or Black Current, raises the temperature of Oregon and Washington just as the Gulf Stream raises the temperature of England, Ireland, and Scotland. But we can find no hint of any recognition of this fact by American statesmen between 1800 and 1830. The Great Lakes, for several hundred miles, form a natural boundary between the two nations and carried the boundary line as far south as the forty-second degree and north almost to the forty-ninth degree at the western end of Lake Superior. An erroneous impression from certain old maps led the commissioners at the treaty of Ghent to believe that the 49th parallel of latitude was the boundary line drawn in 1718 between the British and French claims west of the Great Lakes. Hence from the mouth of Pigeon River on Lake Superior the line was carried northwest to the Lake of the Woods and then extended along the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains by the Convention of 1818. The northern boundary of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine ranges from 45° to 47° north latitude, and Americans knew how cold and rugged and inhospitable were these northern regions. Lewis and Clark reported that the Western country was mountainous from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. While Americans from their knowledge of the northern counties of New Hampshire and Maine did not esteem a mountain region north of 45° of any practical value, nevertheless, for the sake of showing the world that they would not yield anything to Great Britain, they were determined to run the boundary line across the mountainous regions to the Pacific Coast along the parallel of 49°, which they thought France and Great Britain had agreed upon in 1718, and which

Great Britain and the United States had agreed upon as far as the Rocky Mountains in 1818. This was four degrees, some two hundred and forty miles, north of the Vermont line. In the mountain region of the Pacific Northwest what possible object could there be in going still farther north? Hence, our government offered Great Britain the 49th parallel as the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific Coast at the Convention of 1818. But Great Britain would not agree to run the boundary along that line any farther than the Rocky Mountains. This line was accepted to the mountains and a clause written into the treaty whereby the disputed territory west of the Rocky Mountains was to be jointly occupied by both nations for ten years, without jeopardizing the claims of either. In order to assert ourselves against Great Britain, and especially to offset the extreme British claim to the territory between the 49th parallel and the Columbia River, Richard Rush, our minister to Great Britain, in 1824 set up the claim that the territory of the United States extended as far north as 51 degrees; but modified this to a claim for the 49th parallel. On June 19, 1826, Henry Clay, then secretary of state, wrote to Albert Gallatin, our minister to Great Britain, directing him to propose the termination of joint occupancy and offer latitude 49° as an ultimatum. But Great Britain rejected the offer.

A revelation of the ignorance of intelligent Americans of the value of the Oregon Country is furnished by the following facts: May 22, 1818, President Monroe appointed Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush to represent the United States in fixing the boundary line between the two countries. These men were instructed to propose the

extension of the 49th parallel to the Pacific Ocean. But John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, wrote them: "Save pretensions, there is no object to any party worth contending for."[2] In February, 1825, Senator Dickerson, of New Jersey, said: "Oregon can never be one of the United States. If we extend our laws to it, we must consider it as a colony."[3] Again he showed that it would take four hundred and sixty-five days to make the journey from Oregon to Washington and return, and would cost each representative $3,720 for the round trip.[4] Congressman Tracy, of New York, said: "No scheme can appear more visionary than that of an internal commerce between the Hudson and Columbia. The God of nature has interposed obstacles to this connection, which neither the enterprise nor the science of this or any other age can overcome."[5] Senator Winthrop, of Massachusetts, in 1845, asked: "Are our Western brethren straitened for elbow room, or likely to be for a thousand years? . . . The West has no interest, the country has no interest, in extending our territorial possessions."[6]

Thus our statesmen stood for a boundary line along the 49th parallel because they felt sure that this gave us all the land on the north Pacific Coast which could possibly be of any value; and we consented to the joint occupation, from 1818 onward, of the entire region west of the Rocky

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[2] Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, vol. ii, p. 336.

[3] Quoted by Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, vol. ii, p. 361.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 425, note.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 345-346, note.

[6] Quoted by Barrows, Oregon, the Struggle for Possession, p. 200.

Mountains, because we thought the territory probably worthless and because we felt confident that later we could maintain our claim as far north as the 49th parallel if we so desired.

A second fact which more than any other prevented the United States claiming all that she might have claimed under our ownership of the French and Spanish claims and our own discoveries, was that ours was the first really prominent attempt in all history to establish a republic, and that Europe was skeptical of the experiment. All Americans believed that the real danger to the republic would arise from the falling apart of widely separated States with diverse and even antagonistic interests. These fears were by no means wholly speculative but grew out of the dangers threatening the republic in the Whisky Insurrection, the Burr conspiracy, etc. Hence, as conservative patriots, our statesmen were much more anxious that the republic with its existing immense reaches of territory should be consolidated into a strong nation than that we should strive to enlarge our borders by semimilitary conquests. Leaders in both houses of Congress who favored the acquisition of the Oregon Country, at first contemplated the planting therein of an American colony which should later become a second republic, rather than the incorporation of that distant land as an integral portion of the United States. When Astor communicated to President Jefferson his plan to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia, the President replied that he "considered, as a good public acquisition, the commencement of a settlement on that part of the west coast of America, and looked forward, with gratification, to the time when its descendants shall have spread themselves

through the whole length of that coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by ties of blood and interest, and enjoying, like us, the rights of self-government."[7] It is clear from this sentence that President Jefferson did not at that time contemplate the extension of the authority of the United States over the Pacific Coast, but, rather, the formation of another republic "unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest." Again, Congressman Baylies, of Massachusetts, during the second session of Congress of 1822, replied to the objections made on the floor that our republic could never extend so far west as the Columbia River by advocating, not the formation of a territorial government for the country, but an American colony; and Congressman Floyd's bill of January 19, 1824, provided for a military colony for the Oregon Country.[8] H. H. Spalding, the American Board missionary at Lapwai, Idaho, wrote as late as April 7, 1846: "Soon this little, obscure point upon the map of the United States will become a second North American Republic, her commerce whitening every sea and her crowded ports fanned by the flags of every nation."[9] Mr. Roosevelt in The Winning of the West, speaking of our purchase in May, 1803, of the Louisiana Territory, says: "Napoleon forced Madison and Livingston to become the reluctant purchasers not merely of New Orleans, but of all the immense territory which

[7] Quoted by Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, p. 41.

[8] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, pp. 629-631.

[9] Quoted by Bourne, Essays in Historical Criticism, pp. 18, 19.

stretched vaguely northwestward to the Pacific. Jefferson at moments felt a desire to get all this western territory; but he was too timid and vacillating. . . . Madison felt a strong disinclination to see the national domain extend west of the Mississippi; and he so instructed Monroe and Livingston."[10] Again Mr. Roosevelt writes: "The Federalists of the Northeast, both in the Middle States and in New England, at this juncture behaved far worse than the Jeffersonian Republicans. . . . The Northeastern Federalists, though with many exceptions, did as a whole stand as the opponents of national growth. . . . They showed that jealous fear of western growth which was the most marked defect of Northeastern public sentiment until past the middle of the present century."[11] The conspiracy of Aaron Burr apparently justified the fears of the people in the older sections of the country that the people of the West would establish an independent republic. Even General James Wilkinson, at that time head of the United States army and governor of Upper Louisiana, was involved for a time in Burr's plot;[12] but seeing that it was doomed to failure, he withdrew and revealed the whole scheme to President Jefferson. Mr. Roosevelt maintains that the significance of Burr's conspiracy is due to the fact that it was one of several similar escapades which indicated a general tendency on the part of the frontiersmen at that time to found a western republic. Indeed,

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[10] Roosevelt, Winning of the West, part vi, pp. 208-209. But see for a juster view of Jefferson, Bruce, Romance of American Expansion, pp. 24-50.

[11] Ibid., part vi, p. 211.

[12] Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States, vol. vii, p. 595, 596.

Sam Houston a little later did form an independent republic out of that portion of Mexico called Texas.

This attitude of the western frontiersmen is explained but not justified by the fact that Quincy and other opponents of expansion went so far as to threaten a dissolution of the Union on their part on the ground that the contract establishing the nation was being violated by the addition of so much territory in the West and South. These known dangers and these serious conditions prevailing in the Northeast and the Southwest led even General Jackson in 1825 to express the opinion that our safety as a republic lay in a compact territory and a dense population. Also Senator Benton in 1825, despite his hatred of Great Britain and his larger knowledge and greater appreciation of the West, in view of the danger threatening a republic extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, said in one of his speeches: "The ridge of the Rocky Mountains may be named as the convenient, natural, and everlasting barrier. Along this ridge the western limits of the republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be erected on its highest peak, never to be thrown down." Fortunately, Senator Benton later outgrew this narrow conception of the boundaries of the United States. Here, then, were the two fundamental considerations which determined American policy on the Pacific Coast during the first third of the nineteenth century: first, an entire and inevitable ignorance of the value of the country north of the 49th parallel of latitude or even of the 45th; second, a grave fear that the republic would fall to pieces of its own weight if extended over boundless stretches of territory and made up of sections with diverse and conflicting interests.

But despite the lack of knowledge by American statesmen of the fine climate and the natural value of the Northwest Coast, the United States government was not so negligent of this western territory as some advocates of the missionary claim to the preservation of Oregon maintain. The following summary shows that whatever the influences which contributed to these actions, some statesmen were far more active in regard to our Northwest boundary than most writers upon the Oregon question have realized:

1. President Jefferson asked for an appropriation for the Lewis and Clark expedition, which was granted, and the expedition was sent in 1804-06 and explored these northwestern regions as far as the Pacific Coast.

2. In 1814 the government published a partial report of the Lewis and Clark expedition which awakened interest in the Oregon question.

3. At the Convention of 1818, as already noted, our government proposed that the 49th parallel be the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific Ocean.

4. December 19, 1820, Congressman Floyd, of Virginia, made the first motion in the House for a committee of inquiry into "the expediency of occupying the Columbia River and the territory of the United States adjacent thereto." The motion prevailed, and Floyd, Metcalf of Kentucky, and Swearingen of Virginia were appointed.

5. January 25, 1821, Floyd's committee reported, reviewing the history of the discovery of the northwest Pacific Coast, maintaining the validity of the United States's title to sovereignty, the value of the coast for trade, the possibilities of trade with China, and presenting a bill to occupy the territory, extinguish the Indian title, and establish a stable government. The bill passed the

second reading, was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and held over to December 10, 1821, when a second committee, consisting of Floyd, Baylies of Massachusetts, and Scott of Missouri, was appointed.

6. January 18, 1822, the second committee reported a bill similar to the first one. The bill passed the second reading and came up for discussion in the second session of Congress for 1822. On December 17, 1822, Floyd made the first Congressional speech on the Oregon question, which is reported to have fallen flat on the members. Then Baylies spoke, showing the value of the fish and lumber trade and advocated the establishment of an American colony. A general debate followed and the bill was lost by a vote of one hundred to sixty-one.

7. At the next session of Congress, in 1823, another committee of seven was appointed with Floyd as chairman. January 19, 1824, a bill was introduced authorizing the erection of a territorial government and granting a section of land to each head of a household who settled in the Oregon territory. This bill, after discussion at intervals, passed the House December 23, 1824, by a vote of one hundred and thirteen to fifty-seven, and was sent to the Senate February 25, 1825, where it was tabled after discussion.

8. In 1824 the United States concluded a treaty with Russia fixing the southern limit of all claims by her as against the United States at 54° 40′; before this treaty Russia had claimed the territory as far south as 51°.

9. The United States offered the 49th parallel again in 1824, but the offer was rejected.

10. In 1826 our government again proposed the 49th parallel as the boundary line; again rejected.

11. Great Britain having rejected our offer, an agreement for joint occupation of the territory for an indeterminate time was renewed August 6, 1827. Indeterminate occupation was by this agreement accompanied by the provision that joint occupation could be terminated by either party giving one year's notice.

12. In August, 1831, Edward Livingston, secretary of state, directed Martin Van Buren, our minister to Great Britain, to open a discussion with a view of settling the Oregon question. Nothing of importance came from this.

13. In response to information which Lee sent back to Washington in 1834-35, and especially to representations made by Hall J. Kelley, Mr. William J. Slacum, connected with our naval service, was sent by the government to visit the Columbia River region. Slacum arrived December 22, 1835, in the brig Loriot. During his five or six weeks' stay he spent most of the time with Jason Lee in the Willamette Valley. With Lee's aid he compiled the names of all the white settlers in the valley. Lee wrote a petition for the establishment of a territorial government for Oregon by the United States, and Slacum went with Lee and helped secure the signatures of the ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company to the petition by assuring them that the government would recognize and validate their titles to their farms. Slacum carried this petition back and presented it to Congress in 1837. On information largely furnished by Lee, Mr. Slacum prepared a very favorable report of the extent and value of the country.[13] Mr. Slacum also encouraged the organ-

[13] See Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs . . . in Relation to the Territory of the United States beyond the Rocky Mountains.

ization of the Willamette Cattle Company, invested some money for himself through Lee, loaned Lee money to invest for the Methodist Mission in the Company, and carried Ewing Young, P. L. Edwards, and the employees of the Company in his brig to San Francisco without charge save for food. Slacum's report helped to create public sentiment, and especially to awaken senators and representatives to the value and importance of the country. The facts which Lee provided in earlier letters and in Slacum's report in regard to the climate and the extent of the fertile lands of Oregon were a revelation to Congress and did much to shape its subsequent action in regard to Oregon.

14. February 7, 1838, Senator Linn, of Missouri, introduced a bill for the occupation of the Columbia River by a military force, for the establishment of a port of entry, and the extension of the revenue laws of the United States to the Oregon Country. In his speech he showed the vast sources of wealth in that country awaiting development under the protection of our government. The bill was referred to a select committee of which Linn was chairman and an elaborate report was presented to the Senate on June 6. Despite the efforts of Benton and Linn, the bill failed to pass the Senate.

15. December 11, 1838, Linn presented a second bill for the occupation of Oregon and the protection of the citizens of the United States residing there. Fearing that the success of this measure would work to our disadvantage in negotiations pending with Great Britain, the bill was finally referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; but five thousand copies of the bill and of information relating to Oregon were printed for public distribution.

16. Early in 1839 a resolution was being considered by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for the occupation of Oregon. The Committee did not recommend the establishment of a territorial government because they were "anxious to observe the letter and spirit of the treaties between the United States and Great Britain."[14] The report was accompanied by communications from the secretary of war and the secretary of the navy, Lee's letter to Cushing and the memorial which Lee brought from Oregon, Slacum's report, memoirs from Wyeth and Kelley, a letter from the secretary of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society, organized at Lynn, Massachusetts, through letters by Cyrus Shepard and the personal influence of Lee. Ten thousand copies of this report with its illuminating documents were printed and spread broadcast, and they contributed largely to the emigration to Oregon.

17. December 18, 1839, Linn called the attention of the Senate to a series of resolutions relating to Oregon which were referred to Linn's committee. The committee offered March 31, 1840, a substitute bill asserting the title of the United States to Oregon, authorizing the President to take necessary measures for the protection of persons and property of the United States residing in that territory, and granting each white male inhabitant of the territory over eighteen years of age, one thousand acres of land. Bancroft speaks of this liberal grant of land being the chief feature of the bill and as being the suggestion of Jason Lee.[15] This bill of 1839, with its provisions for a grant of one thousand acres of land to each male inhabitant eighteen years old, perhaps more than

[14] Quoted by Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 373.

[15] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 374.

any other single cause created the emigrations to Oregon of 1841-43.

18. In 1838 the government, influenced by these reports, sent out an exploring expedition to the Pacific Ocean. The squadron consisted of two sloops of war, a brig, a ship, and two tenders, under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, who during the Civil War startled the South, the United States, and Great Britain, by seizing Mason and Slidell on the British mailship Trent. The company consisted, in addition to the members of the navy, of several naturalists and botanists, a mineralogist, taxidermist, philologist, etc., and the cruise occupied four years.[16] It made a thorough exploration of the Northwest Coast and of the Columbia River region; and the report added largely to the scientific knowledge of the regions visited. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Rev. Dr. Richmond, of Nisqually, and Captain Wilkes celebrated the Fourth of July at the Nisqually Mission in 1841, at which the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, the missionaries, the ships' officers, one hundred marines, and four hundred Indians constituted the audience. The Declaration of Independence was read by a sergeant of marines, the Scripture by Captain Wilkes, the prayer was offered by Dr. Richmond, the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," were sung under the lead of the marines, and the oration was delivered by Dr. Richmond, in which he uttered the sentence: "The whole of this magnificent region of country, so rich in the bounties of nature, is destined to become a part of the American republic." Dr. McLoughlin was expected to attend the celebration. Perhaps it was just as well for his peace of

[16] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, p. 398.

mind that he did not reach the Fort in time to attend the first celebration of Independence Day ever held west of the Rocky Mountains on territory which he confidently claimed for the British government.[17]

19. In 1839, while Lee was still in the East securing recruits for Oregon, the Rev. David Leslie prepared an important petition or memorial to the government signed by himself and some seventy others, setting forth the great value of the country and the necessity for the immediate extension of the authority of the United States. This was the third petition for the extension of the authority of the United States over Oregon—all of them framed and forwarded by the Methodists. Through the general information now reaching Washington, of which the letters and representations of Lee and the petition of the settlers were a part, the government in 1842 sent Lieutenant John C. Frémont to select sites for military posts from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. It was on this tour that Frémont explored the South Pass —the eastern gateway of the Rocky Mountains—and in 1843 visited the Pacific Coast, where he was the guest of the Methodist missionaries at The Dalles. Frémont made a report which was of much scientific value and doubtless helped the administration to stand firm for the 49th parallel in the treaty of 1846, although the report was not published in time to help in the campaign of 1844.

20. December 7, 1841, the President and secretary of war recommended the establishment of military posts as

[17] Wilkes' Narrative embraces three volumes. Our sketch is a brief summary of Chapter XL of Clarke's Pioneer Days of Oregon History. The account of the celebration is from Atwood, The Conquerors, pp. 118, 119.

far west as the Rocky Mountains. In accordance with this recommendation, but advancing beyond the President's recommendation, Senator Linn introduced a bill December 16, 1841, for the occupation and settlement of Oregon and a grant of six hundred and forty acres of land to every white male inhabitant eighteen years or over who should cultivate the land for five years. This provision was along the line of Jason Lee's recommendation to Caleb Cushing, and with his recommendation embodied in Linn's bill of 1840; it kept alive the expectation of a land grant to every emigrant to Oregon and thus encouraged the emigrations of 1842 and 1843. The bill also provided for the extension of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Iowa over all the territory west of the Missouri River and east of the Rocky Mountains from the northern boundary of Texas, and also over all the country west of the Rocky Mountains between latitude 42° and 49°, but provided for the delivery of criminal British subjects to the Canadian authorities. The arrival of Lord Ashburton, the British plenipotentiary, led to the postponement of the consideration of the bill in order that Mr. Webster might be unembarrassed in his negotiations with Lord Ashburton over the boundary line. The treaty framed by Webster and Lord Ashburton disappointed the nation by failing to touch the Oregon question. Resolutions from the assemblies of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri were sent to Congress urging the immediate occupation of the country by the United States as far north as 49°. Petitions from Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, and the "Mississippi Valley," poured into Congress calling for action. Senator Linn now pressed his bill with great ardor, and the debate en-

listed the best talent of the Senate—Benton, Buchanan, Linn, Phelps, Sevier, Walker, and Young favoring it, and Archer, Berrien, Calhoun, Choate, Crittenden, and McDuffie opposing it. It finally passed the Senate February 3, 1843, by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-two, but failed in the House.[18]

21. In 1842 President Tyler appointed Dr. Elijah White, sub-Indian agent for the country west of the Rocky Mountains. This was the first attempt of the government at Washington to establish civil authority west of the Rocky Mountains, although British authority had been extended over British subjects and Indians as early as 1821.

22. Meantime the failure of the Webster-Ashburton treaty to include the settlement of the Oregon question led Great Britain to instruct her minister to the United States, Mr. H. S. Fox, to bring up the question for friendly adjustment. President Tyler in his message to Congress of December, 1843, gave the impression that the United States was forcing Great Britain to action, whereas Lord Aberdeen observed, "It would have been more candid had he stated that he had already received from the British government a pressing overture, . . . and that he had responded to the overture in the same conciliatory spirit in which it was made."[19]

23. This brings us to a remarkable and little known episode in the history of our country. In 1842 President Tyler and his secretary of state, Daniel Webster, formu-

[18] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 378-380. See p. 380, note.

[19] Smith, England and America After Independence, pp. 290, 291.

lated a plan for the settlement of the Oregon question by the United States's acceptance of the Columbia River as the boundary in return for Great Britain's consent to Mexico's surrender to the United States of all her territory from the 42d parallel down to 36° 30′; and also to Mexico's release of all claims on Texas, which had established its independence. Lyon G. Tyler, son of President Tyler, his official secretary at this time and his authoritative biographer, thus writes: "Even as early as the special mission of Lord Ashburton the question had been put, whether if Mexico would concede six degrees south of our boundary of forty-two degrees across the continent, so as to include the ports of San Francisco and Monterey, England would make any objection to it, and Lord Ashburton thought she would not."[20] The plan, or, as it deserves to be called, the plot, is narrated at length in the biography, but L. G. Tyler thus sums up the matter in the Magazine of American History: "The policy of the administration was to use Oregon as the handmaid to California and Texas. . . . Writing to Webster, the President discloses the scheme of a tripartite treaty between the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico, whereby Great Britain was to have the line of the Columbia River, we surrendering most of Washington Territory, the northern half of what was then Oregon, and taking in exchange the much greater and more fertile equivalent of California, down to 36° 30′. At the same time the independence of Texas was to be recognized by Mexico. Such a treaty would satisfy all sections of the Union. Texas would reconcile all to California, and California to the line pro-

[20] Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, vol. ii, p. 260.

posed for Oregon. As Mexico was at the time a mere colony of Great Britain and largely in debt to her capitalists, the assent of Great Britain was all that was necessary to the treaty, and this the latter was desirous, nay, anxious to give. To accomplish this policy the President contemplated sending Webster to England on a special mission, but the subject halted before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Congress expired before taking action on the mission. The sole cause of failure lay with Congress, which was as impotent a body of men at this period, consuming the hours in shameless invectives against the President and his secretary of state, and resorting to every endeavor to embarrass the government."[21]

Webster was anxious to avoid a war with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary because he knew that such a war would destroy New England shipping and fall with great severity upon his constituents. Besides, while Webster was provincial in his attitude toward the West, he did not share American animosities against Great Britain, but had a just appreciation of her institutions. Unfortunately, this was not the first or the last time in history that strong nations have tried to profit by mutually despoiling a weak nation. The whole plot is fully confirmed by John Quincy Adams's Memoirs.[22] Owing to the pressure of the Massachusetts Whigs,[23] who had renounced Tyler and desired Webster to run as the Whig candidate for the presidency, and possibly to Webster's uneasiness of conscience over a proposed compromise which would do

[21] The Magazine of American History, vol. xi, pp. 168-169.

[22] Adams, Memoirs, vol. xi, pp. 327, 340, 347, 351, 355.

[23] Wilson, The Presidents of the United States, pp. 207-209 (Sketch of Tyler by John Fiske).

a grave injustice to Mexico and would give the South the immense region of Texas for the spread of slavery, Webster resigned from Tyler's Cabinet May 8, 1843, and was succeeded by Abel P. Upshur June 24, 1843, Hugh S. Legaré and William S. Derrick having filled the office in the interim.

The next point which is clear is that between the failure of Tyler's compromise, March 3, 1843, and October 9, 1843, Tyler changed his mind. On the latter date he directed Upshur to write Edward Everett, our minister to Great Britain, as follows: "The offer of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, although it has been once rejected, may be again tendered, together with the right of navigating the Columbia River upon equitable terms; beyond this the President is not prepared to go."[24] L. G. Tyler as quoted above claims that the compromise failed through the failure of Congress to act upon his father's plan before its adjournment March 3, 1843. But Adams's Memoirs show that Webster was still active on the compromise and approached General Almonte on it about April 1, 1843.[25] May 16, 1843, is the latest date at which we can find traces of compromise activities.

While Lyon G. Tyler's statement that Mexico was at that time a mere colony of Great Britain is very inaccurate, it is true that Great Britain opposed the alienation of any land by Mexico on the ground that the Mexican government and people owed British citizens large sums of money. It is quite possible also that British statesmen, as well as Americans, were still influenced by the animosities of 1776 and 1812, and that British states-

[24] Quoted by Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 197.

[25] Adams, Memoirs, vol. xi, pp. 340, 347, 351, 355.

men in general did not desire the enlargement of the territory of the United States. Although Texas revolted and set up a republic in 1835, and achieved her independence in the battle of San Jacinto that year, and was gradually recognized by other governments, Great Britain denied her recognition until 1842. It is true that from 1839 on, Great Britain believed that both Texas and Mexico had a better prospect of avoiding aggression by the United States if they were united in the bonds of friendship rather than at war; and she urged Mexico to recognize the independence of Texas and make a friendly alliance with her. On November 13, 1840, a treaty recognizing the independence of Texas was signed by the British representative in Texas;[26] but as Mexico sturdily refused to concede the loss of this great territory, Great Britain refused to ratify this treaty. But Lyon G. Tyler says that his father's proposal to Great Britain to yield to her the entire Puget Sound region, which was made through Webster and Lord Ashburton early in 1842, was favorably received. It is possible that Great Britain's recognition of the independence of Texas, June 28, 1842,[27] was a preparation for her consent to the union of Texas with the United States.

Dunning mentions a fact which amply accounts for Tyler's change of policy. He writes: "The first diplomatic representative sent by Great Britain to Texas was an ardent abolitionist, who began unofficial efforts to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in Texas through money loaned by Great Britain. . . . In the course of 1843 Lord Aberdeen committed his government definitely to

[26] Garrison, The American Nation, vol. xvii, p. 96.
[27] Ibid., vol. xvii, p. 96.

the policy of promoting abolition in Texas."[28] August 3, 1843, Upshur, our secretary of state, officially communicated that information to our chargé d'affaires in Mexico. Lord Aberdeen, hearing this report, sent a dispatch December 26, 1843, to the British minister at Washington, contradicting the statement and declaring that England had no intention of interfering with slavery in Texas, but would leave that country free to make her own "unfettered arrangements" concerning her own affairs.[29] But Tyler believed the report of his secret agent, and it was this belief which led to his abandonment of compromise in the summer of 1843, and to his message to Congress in December, stating, "The United States have always contended that their rights appertain to the entire region of country . . . embraced within 42° and 54° 40′ of north latitude." Professor Garrison writes: "Putting all things together, it seems certain that the information possessed by the department of state at Washington in the summer of 1843 was such as to lead to the conclusion that British influence was working strongly in Texas, and that it was one aim of Great Britain to secure the abolition of slavery in that republic. Tyler and Upshur therefore decided to forestall such an event by concluding a treaty of annexation with Texas. The negotiations, so far as they are recorded, began October 16, 1843."[30] Remembering that Tyler was a Virginian, that while elected as a Whig he became a Democrat and protected slavery, it is clear that the change

[28] Dunning, The British Empire and the United States, pp. 121-122.

[29] Texas, State Historical Association Quarterly, vol. ix, pp. 29, 30.

[30] Garrison, The American Nation, vol. xvii, p. 114.

from his gracious attitude toward Great Britain in 1842 and his proposed compromise of 1842-43 to his reckless claim in the December message of 1843 of the entire coast up to 54° 40′, was a blow in revenge aimed at Great Britain for discouraging slavery in Texas. It may be well to add that Calhoun, our secretary of state, received Lord Aberdeen's official denial of interference in the internal affairs of Texas February 26, 1844, that the treaty of annexation of Texas was made by Tyler and Calhoun April 12, 1844, six weeks after the denial had been received; that April 19, 1844, seven weeks after the United States had the official denial of the British government, Calhoun instructed our chargé d'affaires in Mexico to explain to the Mexican government our motives in the annexation of Texas by stating "that the step had been forced on the government of the United States in self-defense in consequence of the policy adopted by Great Britain in reference to the abolition of slavery." Thompson's narrative of the annexation of Texas, speaking of the reports of Great Britain's motives with regard to slavery in that State, well says: "The knowledge of their falsification could not be concealed from the Senate, although they were successfully hidden from the country, and when exposed to that body they were found to be so unjust to Great Britain that in order to condemn them as emphatically as possible, it rejected the treaty by a vote of more than two to one."[31] This was the first treaty of annexation.

24. Great Britain now recognized the dangers inherent in the American attitude; and Richard Pakenham, who

[31] Thompson, Recollections of Sixteen Presidents from Washington to Lincoln, vol. i, p. 229.

had succeeded H. S. Fox as minister, was able in August, 1844, to secure a conference on the boundary line. Great Britain proposed the 49th parallel to the Columbia, then down the Columbia to its mouth, with a free port for the United States either on Vancouver Island or on the mainland above the mouth of the Columbia but below latitude 49.[32] This proposal was promptly rejected by our government.[33]

25. February 3, 1845, a bill in favor of establishing a territorial government in Oregon passed the House by a vote of one hundred and forty to fifty-nine, but being postponed when on the point of a vote, failed in the Senate through lack of time.

26. July 12, 1845, President Polk, through Buchanan, his secretary of state, despite the campaign cry on which he was elected, but in view of the actions of his predecessors, again offered the 49th parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, but it was promptly rejected by Mr. Pakenham on July 29 without referring it to his government.[34] This gave great offense to the American people and again started the cry, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." December 2, 1845, Polk in his message to Congress favored inferentially 54° 40′, and suggested that the authority of the United States be extended over all our citizens in Oregon and that the President be given authority to give the year's notice for the termination of joint occupation.[35] Both houses of Congress after prolonged debate voted authorizing the President to give the

[32] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 383.

[33] Smith, England and America After Independence, p. 291.

[34] Johnson, America's Foreign Relations, vol. ii, p. 422.

[35] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 422.

notice, and it was given May 22, 1846. On June 6 a proposal arrived from the British government offering the 49th parallel as the boundary line.

But the settlement was by no means effected by this late concession of Great Britain. "So strong was the 'fifty-four forty' sentiment in the Senate that it was questionable whether a treaty constituting the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary would be ratified. . . . In his dilemma Polk turned to the one man who, he felt, could save the day for him and for Oregon—Benton, of Missouri. Already one of the most abused statesmen in the country by reason of the bravery and honesty with which he denied the right of the United States to any part of Oregon north of the forty-ninth parallel, Benton cheerfully accepted the added burden laid upon him. His counsel to Polk was to fall back upon an obsolete custom and request the Senate to give him, as President, its advice upon the terms of the treaty to be negotiated. . . . Eagerly Polk clutched at this straw. But, he nervously asked, would the Senate take the desired action, a two-thirds vote being requisite? Benton engaged that it would, and, to make good his pledge, saw personally every Senatorial member of the opposition party—the Whig party—and secured the promise of sufficient votes to carry the day over those Democrats who, like Cass and Hannegan, would have all of Oregon or none."

"June 10, 1846, the 'advice' was asked. It was an anxious moment for both Polk and Benton, facing a torrent of angry invective and denounced as traitors to their party and their country. For two days the storm raged, and then, the Whigs faithfully falling into line, by thirty-seven votes to twelve the President's wishes were

met in a terse, businesslike resolution. Three days afterward the treaty itself was signed by the Secretary of State and the British Minister, and in another two days the Senate ratified it by an increased vote on each side—forty-one in favor of, and fourteen opposed to, ratification. In such wise, nearly thirty years after he had uttered his first protest against the presence of the British in the pleasant lands about the Columbia River, did Thomas Hart Benton triumph in the cause he had so stoutly advocated."[36]

This review of the activity of our government shows that the United States, however slow, played an important part in the preservation of the most valuable portion of the Oregon Country. But this conviction does not call for any denial of the value and the providential character of missionary work, any more than the conviction that the American colonies eventually would have won their independence had Washington never been born calls for any denial of the greatness and providential character of his service.

Moreover, we must bear in mind that popular governments are moved by wide, deep currents of popular feeling, which, though sometimes unrecognized by contemporaries and sometimes confused with temporary eddies, nevertheless in the end control the national life. Two such currents swayed the nation between the close of the Revolution and 1850. For the first forty years the founders and leaders of the republic were impressed and almost overawed by the greatness of their task; and they were willing to limit the republic in area for the sake of greater unity in its aims and stronger prospects for its continu-

[36] Bruce, Romance of American Expansion, pp. 134-135.

ance. But Anglo-Saxon land hunger and the confusion of greatness with bigness found expression as early as 1803 in the purchase of Louisiana by Jefferson, a strict constructionist, and of Florida in 1819. This impulse grew stronger and stronger, and even against the strength of the earlier current it triumphed in the annexation of Texas in 1845, in securing the larger portion of the Oregon Country in 1846, and in the conquest of the northern portion of Mexico in 1848. On the whole, it was this deep undercurrent of expansion beginning as early as 1803 and sweeping the country from 1844-1848 which saved the Puget Sound region to the United States.

Before turning from the government's services in behalf of the Oregon Territory, it is not amiss to correct the impression of her total neglect of the Indians. The transformation of the Indians from savage to civilized life through conversion and education was the only possible solution of their problem. The United States as a government could not take part in the evangelization of the Indians. But the United States government did take part in their education. She spent $4,391,000 in 1911, and she is spending substantially that amount each year for their education. As only 73,464 were eligible for school attendance in 1913,[37] this appropriation gives over fifty-nine dollars annually for each Indian pupil—the largest appropriation made by any nation for the education of her youth. For the education of the Indians from 1876-1913 inclusive, the United States government spent $84,-985,000.[38] Moreover, we should remember that the United

[37] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1913, p. 181.

[38] Ibid., p. 154.

States for all purposes, is spending over $16,000,000 a year for her Indian wards; and she has spent from 1789 to 1916 on account of the Indian people, $598,701,294.[39] The United States government deserves the credit of taking, after long hesitancy and much discussion, the just, wise, and successful course in her struggle with Great Britain and of at last adopting a humane and generous policy in dealing with the Indians.

[39] The World Almanac, 1917, p. 519, note.

CHAPTER VII

OREGON PIONEERS

"This gradual and continuous progress of the European race toward the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a providential event. It is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly and daily driven onward by the hand of God" (DeTocqueville).

It is impossible to portray the services of all the early settlers in the Oregon Country who contributed to the solution of our problem. As the lives of an unusual proportion of these actors in the drama ended in tragedy, let us begin with one who, cherishing an unrealized ideal, never set foot in Oregon.

Jonathan Carver was born in Connecticut before the Revolutionary War, and was consequently a subject of Great Britain. He served the mother country in the French war which resulted in the acquisition of Canada. His ideal was, in his own language, "to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific. . . ."[1] He got no farther on his westward journey than the headwaters of the Mississippi, which he reached in 1766. He spent two years with the Indian tribes of this region, and says, "From these nations and my own observations, I have learned that the four

[1] Quoted by Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 313.

most capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz., the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon —Red River of the North, and the Oregon, . . . have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west."[2] Credit Jonathan Carver with contributing the name of the vast region whose settlement we discuss, for this is the first mention in books of the word "Oregon."

Among the intellectual children of Jonathan Carver were John Ledyard and Hall J. Kelley, each of whom was as odd and inexplicable as himself. John Ledyard was born at Groton, Connecticut, in 1751. His father dying, his mother in 1772 sent him to Dartmouth College to prepare for missionary work among the Indians. He was a quaint, gentle, humane, humorous fellow, who undertook study only to be passed by one professor to another; business only to fail; fell in love, only to be sent wandering over the earth. He had a passion for travel, as Thoreau for nature. Once he took a canoe which he had built in Vermont and floated down the Connecticut with a Greek Testament as a companion. Studying the book, he nearly floated over Bellows Falls. After some months on Long Island he made a voyage to Gibraltar and back, then went to England as a sailor, and in July, 1776, entered the British service under Captain Cook for Cook's third voyage to the South Sea. On this voyage Captain Cook discovered New Zealand and later the Sandwich Islands. Then Cook sailed to the northwest coast of America, then through Bering's Strait and made the important discovery that the

[2] Quoted by Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 314.

supposed Northwest Passage did not exist, returned to the Sandwich Islands, and was killed. The ship, with Ledyard, again proceeded north for furs, which were sold at Canton for a fabulous price; the ship returned to London in October, 1780. The British government was deeply disappointed over the discovery that there was no Northwest Passage, but published the records of the voyage, including Ledyard's notes, in 1784-85. Ledyard left the British service when they attempted to force him into the conflict between Great Britain and the colonies and returned to Long Island in December, 1782. He soon attempted to interest Americans in commercial enterprises on the Northwest Coast, but not meeting with success he sailed for Europe and finally reached Paris, where Louis XVI was led by his statements to plan an expedition to the Northwest Coast under La Perouse. Jared Sparks, Ledyard's biographer, says he was the first either in Europe or America to suggest a commercial voyage to the Northwest Coast for trade in furs with China.[3] While in Paris Ledyard met Thomas Jefferson and talked over his plans with him, thus awakening the interest which led to the expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804-06, after Jefferson had come to the presidency; so far as can be learned, it was these conversations with Jefferson, and especially Ledyard's history of his travels with Captain Cook, published in the summer of 1783, which helped call Jefferson's attention to the possible value of the Northwest Coast and led to his letter to George Rogers Clark of December 4, 1783, in which he asked whether Clark would be willing to lead a party for exploring the country

[3] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 69.

from the Mississippi to California.[4] It was George Roger Clark's brother, William, who, with Captain Meriwether Lewis, twenty years later made the tour of exploration. Ledyard, with every enterprise with which he was connected failing, and dying of African fever while seeking the headwaters of the Nile, fittingly ends his career in tragedy. Yet, he awakened the great French navigator, La Perouse, to the value of the Northwest Coast and furnished the political idealist, Jefferson, the information and inspiration which enabled him largely to shape the destiny of the nation.[5]

We find Captain Robert Gray discovering and naming the Columbia River in 1792, the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Credit another American with the greatest discovery of the Northwest Coast.

The Missouri Fur Company was founded in 1802 and established the first American settlement west of the Rocky Mountains at Fort Henry on the headwaters of the Snake River in 1809. But this post was abandoned in 1810 on account of the hostility of the Indians.[6]

William Weir and nine more Americans trapped down the Columbia River in 1809; they were the first American group to winter on its lower waters.

Captain Winship, a new Englander, built and occupied the first permanent residence on the Columbia River in 1810.

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[4] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, p. 113. See also Bruce, Romance of American Expansion, pp. 30-36, for the view that Jefferson already was an expansionist when Ledyard met him in Paris.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 63-80. [6] Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 145.

Wilson P. Hunt, in the employment of Mr. Astor, started with some sixty men across the continent, reached the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811 with about one half of them and founded the town of Astoria in 1812. The death or falling out of the ranks of nearly one half of Hunt's company reveals the tragic struggle through which these heroes of the continent passed. It has been asserted that two fifths of all the men engaged in the fur trade west of the Missouri lost their lives; though it should be added that this large fatality was not wholly due to the inherent hardships of the trader's life, but in part to alcohol and to lust.[7] It should be further added that the fur companies did not in any practical sense subdue the wilderness, but they rendered invaluable service in exploring vast regions, ascertaining the routes for the pioneers, and guiding them on their early journeys.

Hall J. Kelley[8] was a graduate of Harvard, a Boston schoolmaster, and a religious, political, and commercial fanatic. He became impressed with the value of Oregon from the report of Lewis and Clark published in 1814, from some accounts of the Astor expedition, and possibly from New England sailors who had sailed with Captain Gray and others along the Pacific Coast. About 1815 Kelley began publishing articles in the newspapers on the necessity of American occupation of the Northwest Coast. In 1827 he issued under a title almost as long as the article itself, "A General Circular to All Persons of Good Moral Character Who Wish to Migrate to the Oregon Territory," etc. This tract indicated that a society already had been

[7] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, p. 83.

[8] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 267-276; Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, pp. 71-82.

formed in Boston to promote the settlement of the Northwest Territory; but this society was originated by Kelley and existed, as did most of his schemes, chiefly on paper. Between 1830 and 1833 Kelley spent two or three winters in Washington trying to influence legislation upon Oregon. He bored congressmen and probably had little influence, at least we can trace no congressional action to his personal initiation. He left for Oregon in 1833, but his idiosyncrasies were such that all his party deserted him at New Orleans. He, however, succeeded in making his way to Oregon through California. The travel and exposure brought upon Kelley a very severe attack of malaria and he owed much to the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. We are sorry to say that Kelley's egotism led him to interpret this kindness as a bribe to silence on his part. His vagaries made pioneer life impossible to him and in a short time he returned East, praising the country, furnishing some facts in regard to its possibilities, but denouncing the tyranny of the Hudson's Bay Company. After his return he lost his property and his mind became unsettled. He left his family and died as a hermit in 1874 at the age of eighty-three. His permanent contributions are the early stimulus which his writings gave to the settlement of Oregon and the names "Adams" and "Jefferson" which he gave to two peaks of the everlasting hills which guard the riches of the land. Despite all his vagaries and the unfortunate termination of his plans, a desire to render justice to Kelley's unselfish efforts led Bancroft to write of him: "On the other hand, among those who laid the foundations of Oregon's present institutions, of Oregon's present society and prosperity, I should mention first of all the Boston schoolmaster, the enthu-

siast, the schemer, Hall J. Kelley, though he never was a settler in the country, though he remained there but a short time, under inauspicious circumstances, and departed without making any apparent mark. It was he who, more than any other, by gathering information since 1815 and spreading it before the people, kept alive an intelligent interest in Oregon; . . . it was he, this fanatic, who stimulated senators to speak for Oregon on the floor of congress, and even shaped the presidential policy."[9] Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor also wrote of Kelley: "It is only justice to agree with him that he set on foot by his writings the immigration movement to the shores of the Pacific in all its forms, whether missionary, commercial or colonizing."[10] These estimates of Kelley's services seem to us too high, though we sympathize with this lonely, stricken man whose life, like the lives of his greater contemporaries, ended in tears which watered the seeds for future harvests.

Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth's services in visiting the lower portion of the Columbia River in 1832, in leading a company of Americans, including the first Protestant missionaries, as far as the western side of the Rocky Mountains in 1834, in founding Fort Hall in 1834-35, and his defeat by the Hudson's Bay Company, already have been described. He deserves honorable mention among the Oregon pioneers for contributing in a practical manner to the early settlement of the country.

John Ball. Zion's Herald, of Boston, Massachusetts, in

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[9] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 67-68.

[10] Oregon Historical Quarterly, December, 1901. Quoted by Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, p. 81.

its issue of December 18, 1833, reproduced an article from the New York Observer under the caption, "Oregon Expedition." This article was evidently inspired by and contained extracts from a letter by John Ball. The issue of Zion's Herald for January 1, 1834, contains a second article, consisting of a letter from John Ball again reproduced from the New York Observer; and the Herald of January 8, 1834, contains a third letter from Mr. Ball—this time reproduced from the New York Commercial Advertiser. The writer, who came out with Captain Wyeth in 1832 and taught the half-breed school at Fort Vancouver in 1833, gives graphic sketches of Oregon, its soil, climate, possibilities, and its commercial and political importance to the United States. Bancroft gives Mr. Ball the unique distinction of being the first American farmer in the Willamette Valley.[11] As no other Americans settled near him and he disliked the Hudson's Bay Company, he went on a whaling vessel to South America and eventually settled at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Captain O'Neal. Probably influenced by Kelley's writings, Captain O'Neal, a Boston skipper, visited the Columbia about 1832 with the brig Llama, taking from New England to the Columbia a large consignment of children's toys and various interesting and useful contrivances which greatly took the fancy of the Indians. Dr. McLoughlin, for the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company, soon found himself constrained to buy all that Captain O'Neal had left of his cargo, then he bought his ship, and finally hired the enterprising captain. Thus the Hudson's Bay Company transformed another rival into an employee,

[11] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 75.

and Captain O'Neal remained in the service of the Company for thirty years.[12]

Webley J. Hauxhurst was born on Long Island, New York, received an excellent Christian training in a good Quaker home, but, like many another young man, he was seized with the "wanderlust" and strayed to California and later went to Oregon with the Young and Kelley party. The year after his arrival in Oregon he was brought under conviction of sin by Lee's preaching and by the earnestness of the Indian children's prayers, was converted, joined the church, and remained a useful citizen of Oregon until his death. Being a millwright, he erected for the Methodist Mission the first American grist mill in Oregon and thus also made a practical and very real contribution to the delivery of the Americans from the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly and to the advancement of the settlement in the Willamette Valley.

Dr. Elijah White's name and services should be recorded among the Oregon pioneers. He went out originally as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church; but his character was not strong, and his obsequious manners rendered him unpopular with the sturdy pioneers. He fell into some misconduct with women, resigned under charges, and returned East. But he brought back to the East the latest information in regard to Oregon at a time when national interest made such information of great value. He said nothing of the charges against him or of any difficulties with the settlers and the mission; he was a physician, a man of intelligence, a good talker, and he was enthusiastic over Oregon. In January, 1842, he

[12] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, p. 199

visited New York and called upon Messrs. Fry and Farnham, owners of the Lausanne, which had carried out the Methodist party in 1839-40. They gave him letters to President Tyler and Secretary of State Daniel Webster; Dr. White went to Washington and secured the support of Senator Linn, who was the warmest and wisest supporter of Oregon in Congress, and also of J. C. Spencer, secretary of war; Jason Lee had suggested to the President that he appoint an Indian agent and governor for Oregon. Dr. White's standing in Oregon being not known, and he being an intelligent professional man, a good talker, and an enthusiast over Oregon, President Tyler acted on Lee's suggestion far enough to appoint Dr. White sub-Indian agent at Saint Louis with authority beyond the Rocky Mountains. Dr. White was greatly pleased with the appointment and at once announced that he would return to Oregon under appointment by the government. This announcement rallied to him all who contemplated going to Oregon. By enthusiastic labor on his part he increased the company and several men joined the party while on the journey, notably Francis X. Matthieu. With his knowledge of the country and with the aid of guides he succeeded in reaching Oregon in October, 1842, with about one hundred and twenty-five persons, fifty-two of whom were men. As these recruits were absolutely essential to carrying the measure for the provisional government in 1843, it will thus be seen that Dr. White rendered a great service to Oregon. While he never secured real moral leadership in Oregon, and the political leadership of the Americans passed to the provisional government, so far as we can learn, under the responsibilities of his office, he strove actively for the welfare of the people. Bancroft's

characterization of him as a sycophant, his statement that the Western men disliked him for what they termed his smooth-tongued duplicity, and the resolution of the Oregon Legislature of 1845 that he was an unfit person to fill any office in Oregon, amply justified Lee's request that Dr. White surrender his credentials as a missionary. But we accept Bancroft's final estimate of him: "Notwithstanding his faults, it cannot be said that he was ever an enemy to good order or good government."[13]

Ewing Young reached Oregon in the summer of 1834 with six out of the nine men who started with him from California. A group of horse thieves had joined their party before they left California, but parted from them as they crossed the Oregon border. The details were unknown, however, to Governor Figueroa, of California, and he believed that the Young and Kelley group were the guilty ones. A message to this effect was sent to Dr. McLoughlin by the governor, and the Hudson's Bay Company refused to have anything to do with the supposed horse thieves. But while Ewing Young and Hall J. Kelley and the other members of the company were not guilty of stealing horses, Clarke in his volumes published as late as 1905 charges them with a far more serious crime. We have no ground for challenging Clarke's statement, and we deplore the stain which it leaves upon the memories of two men who, despite vagaries and serious faults, rendered good service to Oregon. After the horse thieves separated from the company of which Young and Kelley were in charge, several members of the group, including Kelley, suffered from malaria so seriously that they re-

[13] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 487, note.

tired to an island in the Rogue River for recuperation. They thought they were concealed from all observation by the Indians, but one day they were visited by two friendly Indians who remained several hours with them. Seized with fear that these two Indians might be spies, and that in any case they would report their illness, the white men, after brief consultation killed the Indians, concealed their bodies, and resumed their journey; they soon passed beyond the territory of the murdered Indians and so escaped punishment. Kelley speaks of the company as having killed several California Indians who hung upon their rear, and added that Young approved of the murders, saying they were "d——d villains, and ought to be shot."[14] Once in Oregon, Young, like Absalom, chafed at neglect and entered into partnership with a member of his party, Lawrence Carmichael, to start a distillery. They secured one or two kettles and began their nefarious business. Jason Lee at once organized the Oregon Temperance Society, wrote a petition in favor of temperance, had it signed by every settler in the Willamette Valley, called on Dr. McLoughlin—who had already established prohibition by edict and had offered to establish Young in some honorable enterprise—then wrote a friendly letter to Young and Carmichael, setting forth the dangers of liquor among the Indians and the whites, inclosing the petition and urging them to abandon the distillery. Recognizing the expense they had already incurred, Lee offered the sixty dollars which the signers to the petition had subscribed for temperance work to repay Young and Carmichael for their expenditures. Young was deeply

[14] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, pp. 294-298.

impressed by the fairness and friendly spirit of Lee's letter, by the petition couched in respectful terms and signed by all the white settlers in the region, and especially by the generous offer to refund the money already expended, and he promised Lee that he would abandon the enterprise, but declined with thanks the contributions. On the other hand, Young declared: "McLoughlin's tyrannizing oppression and disdain were 'more than the feelings of an American citizen could support,' and declared that the innumerable difficulties placed in his way by the Company under McLoughlin's authority were the occasion of his being driven to consider so objectionable a means of obtaining a livelihood."[15]

But Young did much to redeem himself by helping organize the Willamette Cattle Company and by his notable service in connection with it. On the arrival of the Methodist missionaries in 1834 Jason Lee told Dr. McLoughlin that he had driven two cows as far west as Fort Boise and that he had left them there for use when he returned to the Flathead Indians. When, on Dr. McLoughlin's advice, Jason Lee decided to settle in the Willamette Valley, Dr. McLoughlin traded him two cows for the cattle at Fort Boise, and loaned him seven oxen, one bull, and eight cows, with the provision that all the calves should be returned to the Company as soon as weaned, and that the older cattle should be returned when the company called for them. Dr. McLoughlin rendered a similar kindness to other settlers; but in all cases under the strict orders from the governor and the directors in London he refused to sell any cattle to anyone. This left all the American

[15] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 99.

settlers in the Willamette Valley with only two cows and these belonging to the Methodist Mission and not sufficient to supply their wants. Young reported that cattle were selling in California at three dollars per head; Jason Lee offered Dr. McLoughlin $200 for a cow of the same breed as those in California, but under strict orders from the London directors Dr. McLoughlin declined the offer. Young also reported that Russian ships coming down the coast from their fur companies were paying one dollar and fifty cents per bushel for wheat in California, whereas the Willamette Valley farmers and the Hudson's Bay Company were in a struggle, the farmers holding five thousand bushels of wheat in their granaries, because the Company would pay them only fifty cents per bushel. Hence the settlers under the lead of the Methodists formed the Willamette Cattle Company. The company apparently took its final shape after Mr. Slacum arrived with the brig Loriot and offered to carry the managers of the company and their employees to San Francisco without charge save for food. As proof of his confidence in Jason Lee and in order to encourage the company, Mr. Slacum offered Lee $500 to invest in cattle. As neither Lee nor the Mission at that time had any money, he accepted the loan in the name of the Mission and the cattle which he secured in return for the $500 became the property of the Mission. Mr. Slacum also invested $175 in the company under Lee's direction, which entitled him to twenty-three head of cattle at seven dollars and sixty-seven cents per head, and these in turn, with their increase, yielded Slacum four years later $860.[16] As Jason Lee had been impressed

[16] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. i, p. 311.

with the honorable conduct of Young in giving up the distillery without compensation, and was especially impressed with his practical ability, Young was made captain of the company, while P. L. Edwards, of the Mission, was made treasurer. Dr. McLoughlin, who felt deeply humiliated over the orders of the company in London and perceived that the settlers would import the cattle without the consent of the Hudson's Bay Company, offered to take for the Hudson's Bay Company half the stock in the Willamette Cattle Company. All the settlers combined, invested $1,100 in the company. Mr. Slacum invested $175; Lee invested $500 for the Methodists, and McLoughlin $900, according to Bancroft, though Daniel Lee represents the total investment as $2,880.[17] We are sorry that in the references to the Oregon Cattle Company Hines, Slacum, and Daniel Lee do not mention Dr. McLoughlin's subscription, for it is another illustration of Dr. McLoughlin the man rising above the restrictions of his company; but had not Bancroft rescued the fact from Dr. McLoughlin's papers, the world would have remained ignorant of another illustration of McLoughlin's strength of character. Jason Lee accompanied Young and his company as far as the Columbia River and had prayers with them aboard the vessel before they set sail; and as he was leaving the ship, Mr. Slacum handed him an envelope containing fifty dollars as a token of his high esteem. It was due to Ewing Young's good judgment in buying live stock, it was due to Young's knowledge of the route, and to his courage, energy, and ability as a leader that the company returned in the fall of 1836 with six

[17] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 141-150.

hundred and thirty head of cattle, thus breaking forever one of the greatest monopolies of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ewing Young deserves honorable mention as one who helped to lay the foundations for independence and wealth for the Americans in Oregon, but severe blame for his sanction of the murder of two Indian guests.

Joseph Gale was a seaman, a mountain man, a free trapper, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company for some years, and a settler in the Willamette Valley. Owing to the shortage of live stock even after Young's trip to California, and stimulated by the large profits of that trip and the supply of ship timber in Oregon, there arose a proposal in 1840 to build a schooner, sail her to San Francisco, sell or trade her for live stock, and drive the stock back to Oregon. John Canan, Ralph Kilbourne, Pleasant Armstrong, Henry Woods, George Davis, and Jacob Green formed a company and secured the promise of Joseph Gale to join it as captain of the ship they purposed building when the work was so far advanced as to assure its completion. Felix Hathaway, an excellent ship carpenter, was hired to lay out, assist, and superintend the building of the ship. The money and provisions of the company failing when the ship was about half built, Hathaway quit its service, and Gale and Kilbourne finished the schooner and launched her without accident. Dr. McLoughlin refused to sell the necessary furnishings for the ship on the ground that Gale, the so-called captain, had worked for him for years and, in his judgment, knew nothing about a ship; he said that the men were simply building themselves a coffin. Captain Wilkes, of the United States navy, whom the government had sent on a scientific expedition to the Oregon Country, told Dr. Mc-

Loughlin, somewhat sharply, that he had had a talk with Gale and knew him to be an experienced seaman, and asked that the goods be charged to Wilkes's account. Captain Wilkes then furnished Gale some questions and after reading his answers licensed him to take charge of a ship. Wilkes's license of Gale as a captain was as irregular as Lee's appointment of Leslie as justice of the peace, but, like Lee's appointment, it had necessity and the interests of the country back of it, and was amply justified by the results. Gale was accompanied by the other members of the company with the exception of Davis and Woods; he spent several days sailing up and down the Columbia training the men to handle the ship and teaching them to steer by the compass. When he dropped down near the mouth of the river the men became deadly seasick and begged Gale to take them back, but he slipped over the bar without damage to the ship and pushed into the Pacific, where he immediately encountered a severe storm. Captain Gale personally stood at the helm for thirty-six hours while the men, in fear of death, obeyed his commands according to the best of their knowledge and ability. After a voyage of five days Gale brought them safely to San Francisco, September 17, 1842. He and his partners traded the ship for three hundred and fifty head of cattle; and Gale wrote a circular and sent it to several stations in California and gathered forty-two men in all, with twelve hundred and fifty head of cattle, six hundred head of horses, and nearly three thousand sheep. The company started to Oregon May 14, 1843, and on July 28, 1843, reached the Willamette Valley with slight loss of live stock and with neither death nor accident befalling a single man on the trip. It is one of the most daring adventures of daring American

adventurers recorded in history and ended in glory and profit to all. Joseph Gale deserved his election as a member of the first executive committee of three to govern Oregon.[18]

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[18] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, pp. 616-627.

CHAPTER VIII

EBBERTS, MEEK, DRANNAN, AND THORNTON

The recognition of the services of the men who helped save Oregon demands the portrayal of four more pioneers. One of these men, Ebberts, is a fine combination of trapper, farmer, and public citizen. Two of them, Meek and Drannan, remind us of Kit Carson and Daniel Boone, while Thornton suggests what Abraham Lincoln might have become had he gone to Oregon in the early days, as once seemed probable.[1] The services of these men were of a half-political, half-military character. Ebberts, Meek, and Thornton helped to awaken the East and lead Congress to act on the territorial organization of Oregon, while Drannan as chief of the scouts helped bring the Modoc war to a conclusion.

George W. Ebberts, called from boyhood "Squire" Ebberts, was born in Kentucky in 1810. He came from the land of Daniel Boone. His family was in good circumstances. He learned the machinist's trade, entered the Rocky Mountains as a trapper in 1829, served six years in the American Fur Company and three years in the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1838 worked during the winter for the American Board mission at Lapwai, as a blacksmith. Probably while there he married his Nez Percé wife, who held his affection to the last and proved,

[1] Charnwood, Abraham Lincoln, p. 95.

like McLoughlin's Indian wife, a helpmate entirely worthy of her white husband. The Hudson's Bay Company would tolerate no competition in fur traffic; so Ebberts, after crossing into the Willamette Valley in 1839, settled near Champoeg, worked for the Methodists for a time, took up land for himself and raised wheat and live stock, and became a well-known citizen in good circumstances. Though a poor shot, he was unrivaled in skill and courage as a traveler and a trapper. He was the companion of Meek in the dangerous journey across the continent in the winter of 1847-48; was solemnly promised by Meek that he should share equally in any compensation which might be paid, received not a penny of the more than $8,000 which Meek secured from Oregon and the United States government, but gave eighteen months of his life and $500 of his own money, and equally with Meek risked his life in the service of Oregon and of the United States. All honor to George W. Ebberts.

Joseph L. Meek was a Rocky Mountain hunter and trapper who came with his Indian wife and children to the Willamette Valley in 1840. Too poor to own a wagon for himself, on this journey he drove a team for Robert Newell from Fort Hall to Fort Walla Walla. This and a second wagon owned by Newell and driven by himself and a third owned and driven by Caleb Wilkins were the first three wagons ever driven from Fort Hall to Fort Walla Walla. Meek was a tall, lithe man, of black eyes and swarthy complexion, of boundless courage and great powers of endurance, and intense patriotism. He was fond of drink, but was converted at the first camp meeting for white men, held by Jason Lee in Oregon in 1843. He soon backslid and lapsed into his old habits, though his

stronger and better nature frequently asserted itself. At the convention of all the citizens of the Willamette Valley held in 1843, when the vote for the provisional government was taken, the chairman, the Rev. Gustavus Hines, after counting hands as best he could in the dense company, was forced to declare the motion lost. Before the British had the wit to move an adjournment of the convention, Meek's stentorian voice rang out calling for a division on the question and summoning all who favored the United States to follow him to one side of the yard, while those favoring the Hudson's Bay Company and British rule remained on the other side. For perhaps a minute the old trapper, Francis X. Matthieu, was seen standing in the center of the yard talking earnestly with a Canadian settler, who had been an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. They then passed over to the American side; the count was again taken and the vote was found to be fifty-two for provisional government and fifty against; the Americans won by two votes.

November 29, 1847, the Whitman massacre occurred and was followed by the Cayuse war. The Roman Catholic mission was temporarily paralyzed, even the Hudson's Bay Company was awed, and the life of the entire American community was hanging in the balance. It was of vital importance to send news of the massacre and the war to the government at Washington, and Governor Abernethy paid Joseph Meek the rare compliment of selecting him for this dangerous task. Governor Abernethy raised what money he could toward the expenses of the journey, Dr. Gary, then head of the Methodist Mission, advancing $500. Immediately Meek asked for Ebberts as a companion, and Governor Abernethy, at Meek's request, gave

the latter a letter to Ebberts begging him to undertake the perilous journey with Meek. While Ebberts lacked Meek's dashing leadership, he was known to be a far saner and more reliable man, who probably would have more weight in the halls of Congress and better judgment in meeting Indians where life and death were hanging in the balance. Besides, Ebberts as a man of substance was able to pay his own way to Washington, as Meek was not. Meek lifted up his hand and placing it on his heart swore in the presence of Mrs. Ebberts that if "Squire" Ebberts would go with him, he should be treated as an equal and that he should share with himself in any compensation which either the Oregon settlers or the United States government might grant them. Ebberts accepted promptly this appeal to his courage and his patriotism; and immediately the two brave men entered upon their task. Their journey led directly through the country of the Indians, who had already begun the war and who were exceedingly anxious that no report of their massacre should reach Washington. Meek and Ebberts left the Willamette country January 4, 1848. They were obliged to ride seven hundred miles farther than Whitman on his famous journey because they were seven hundred miles west of Whitman's station when they started. On reaching The Dalles they waited until nearly the close of January for Gilliam's troop as a guard. Gilliam accompanied them with a regiment of men as far as Waiilatpu. Here the party stopped and reburied the bodies of the Whitman party which Father Brouillet and another white man had covered lightly with earth, but which the wolves had dug up and stripped to the bone. Meek reburied the skeleton of his own daughter, which he recognized from the hair.

She had been in Mrs. Whitman's school and had been killed with the rest of the victims. One hundred men under Adjutant Wilcox accompanied Meek and Ebberts as far as the Blue Mountains through the Cayuse Country. From that point the Meek and Ebberts party consisted of themselves, Owens, and four Americans returning to the States. The snow was very deep and the weather very cold, and two of the Americans dropped out at Fort Boise. Here Meek adopted the red belt and the Canadian cap of the Hudson's Bay Company employees. The Bannock Indians, who were greatly stirred by the report of the Cayuse war, saw Meek's party at a distance and at once pursued them. But on drawing near and perceiving Meek's cap and belt, they came up without firing. Meek assured them that he was from the Hudson's Bay Company on the way to Fort Hall and that Captan McKay was only a day's journey in the rear with a large body of men, and goods for barter with them. On receiving this news the Bannock chief ordered his braves to stand back and permit Meek and his men to pass on. Meek reported the party of traders only a day's journey in the rear in order to awaken the chief's desire for trade and also to lead him to believe that if he murdered Meek and his men, the massacre would be speedily discovered and avenged. As Meek knew that his falsehood would soon be discovered, he stopped at Fort Hall only for a meal and then pushed on in a driving snowstorm so as to escape the rage of the Bannocks. For two days the five men struggled on in the snow on horseback, then made themselves snowshoes of willow withes and abandoned their horses. They had only the food they could carry, slept in their blankets out of doors, nearly perished, killed two

polecats which served as food for two or three days, and on the headwaters of Bear River fell in with Pegleg Smith, a famous mountaineer, who had lost a leg fighting the Crow Indians. Smith and ten men were herding a drove of cattle which were living on the tall grass not wholly covered by snow. Smith killed a cow and made a feast and a dance for them with some Indian women. The next morning with what beef they could carry they started from Bear River for the headwaters of Green River, then, crossing Muddy Fork, on to Fort Bridger. Here Meek met Bridger, whose daughter had also been at school at Dr. Whitman's and who also had been slain, and whose bones Meek assured Bridger that he had reburied, thus greatly stirring Bridger's feelings. Hence, Bridger, in order that Meek might aid to avenge their common wrongs against the Cayuses, gave the travelers his four mules and all the food they could carry. As there were five men they took turns walking and now made more speed, and in due time reached the South Pass. The snow was very deep and two of the mules were lost in it, their loss retarding the speed of the company. Besides, owing to the deep snow, little game was to be seen, and the men suffered much from cold and hunger as they journeyed down the Sweetwater River to the Platte. At Red Buttes they killed a single buffalo which had fallen out of some herd and whose meat providentially kept them alive until they reached the Platte. Here the traveling was better, and they found game and thus reached a French trader named Papillon. The Frenchman received them hospitably, and, stirred by Meek's story, furnished them fresh mules and warned them against a body of hostile Sioux at Ash Hollow, a hundred miles down the river.

They planned to pass the Sioux camp in the night, but, owing to a blinding snowstorm, they ran into the Sioux camp in the afternoon before they saw it. Providentially another Frenchman named Le Beau, who was living with the Sioux, saw the party first, preserved their lives, and guided them safely through the camp. After bidding farewell to Le Beau, they made a wide detour to throw the Sioux off their track in case of pursuit. By hard travel, with many hardships and through grave dangers, the party reached Saint Joseph, Missouri, in a little over two months from the time it started, as compared with four months which Dr. Whitman spent on the Southern route in 1842-43. Meek was soon out of money, having spent it with a lavish hand. But a man in Saint Joseph, to whom he brought a letter from his son, took Meek and Ebberts in a carriage on to Independence, Missouri, where Meek had a sister whom he had not seen for nineteen years. A steamboat was just starting on its first spring trip to Saint Louis, and the captain, on hearing Meek's story, took him and Ebberts down the river without charge. Meek had a wonderful story to tell; besides he was a gifted liar, and had a positive genius for getting everything for nothing. He was a born actor, while his fertile imagination gave hints of an uncouth and undeveloped Mark Twain or Bret Harte. At the wharf in Saint Louis Meek met a man named Campbell, whom he had known in the Rocky Mountains, and told him a lurid story. Campbell gave the story to the papers that night and the next morning Meek awoke famous. The night of his arrival at Saint Louis Meek telegraphed President Polk, to whom he was known and, indeed, related, and soon received an answer from the President bidding him come

at once to Washington. Two boats were starting the next morning for Pittsburgh; Meek picked out the Declaration, mounted the hurricane deck, and in stentorian tones announced the massacre, the heroic ride east, the summons of the President to Washington, and displayed the telegram. He bade those going up the Ohio take the Declaration and he would tell them all the story. The Declaration was crowded, and its rival ran up the river empty. As a result, Meek and Ebberts had free transportation with drinks thrown in. Meek and Ebberts reached Wheeling after the stage had left for Cumberland, but Meek stretched himself up to his full height of six feet two inches, and announced himself in stentorian tones as "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the republic of Oregon to the court of the United States." This, with his letter from Governor Abernethy and his telegram from President Polk and his marvelous stories, led the manager to order another team at once and send the two envoys on their way. On the train, when the conductor called for tickets, Meek played the part of an Indian with no knowledge of the language, but showed the letter and telegram—and the conductor permitted them to ride without even the formality of a pass. At Washington Meek went to the Coleman House, the most fashionable hotel in the city. He at once attracted the notice of senators, who paid him great attention. His remarkable stories, his histrionic manners, and his telegram from President Polk drew all eyes toward him. He demanded to be driven to the President at once. The colored servant of President Polk at the White House had known him in childhood, and on recognizing him ushered him into the White House. Meek was related to the President's family, and Knox

Walker, the President's secretary, also a relative, rushed forward and saluted him as "Uncle Joe," and Meek called him "Knox." He sent the secretary at once to the President, who came out of a conference and greeted him cordially. After a few words by Meek the President dismissed the committee waiting upon him, gave Meek a two-hours interview, then prepared a message and sent it the very next day to Congress, calling urgently for relief for Oregon.[2] The message was sent to Congress May 29, 1848, and this gives us May 28 as the day of Meek's and Ebberts's arrival, making the journey from January 4 only four months and twenty-four days—the shortest journey from Oregon to Washington on record at that time.

After remaining three weeks in Washington and discharging in full their task, Ebberts proposed that they return home. But Meek had no thought of leaving so soon his dear cousins at the White House. But he again solemnly promised Ebberts to share with him any money which the government might appropriate for expenses and compensation. Ebberts started back to Oregon, and, on account of being forced to work at times for wages in order to complete his journey, was eighteen months on the trip East and back, and the trip, as already narrated, cost him $500 in addition to eighteen months' time. On account of Meek's relationship to the secretary of the President, and to the President himself, he was freely received at the White House, and at the suggestion of social friends was fitted out in a dress suit, and with his handsome appearance and gift of story-telling became the social lion of the season. Congress had been deeply impressed with Judge

[2] Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 2434-2436.

Thornton and with the reliable statements of "Squire" Ebberts. It voted $10,000 to cover the expenses of Thornton, Meek, and Ebberts and for the purpose of a few presents to the Indians; and it was understood that Thornton, who must be absent about two years, was to have some compensation for his services. The treasurer of the United States on a certified bill of expenses paid Thornton $2,750 and gave Meek $7,250—and Ebberts and the Indians got the balance! When Meek recovered from his indulgences and returned to Oregon, he had nothing to divide with Ebberts, and neither Ebberts nor his descendants have received to this day compensation or expenses for one of the most heroic rides in America. It is unnecessary to add that neither Governor Abernethy nor the Methodist Mission ever received back the money they advanced toward Meek's expenses. Nevertheless, we are forced to admit that, with the wit and manners and braggadocio of a Falstaff, Meek had great courage and common sense and power of initiative; and on account of his acquaintance and kinship with the President, no other man in Oregon could have made this journey and secured government aid with equal speed and success.

Captain Drannan.[3] This scout and hunter was born on the Atlantic Ocean, January 30, 1832, of French parents on their way to the United States. His parents dying in a plague, the child grew up until he was fifteen years old under the care of a bachelor and was then adopted by the famous hunter Kit Carson. May 3, 1847, at the age of fifteen, he killed his first wild turkey and a little later his first buffalo. With his Uncle Kit, he met Indians

[3] **Drannan, Thirty-One Years on the Plains and in the Mountains.**

and in addition to French and English, soon learned enough of the Chinook jargon to converse with them. As this jargon originated with the missionaries and the trappers of Oregon, he was thus early brought into contact with them.[4] His Uncle Kit took him and a Mr. Hughes into South Park to spend the winter in trapping. They constructed a rude "dug-out" for their winter shelter. Uncle Kit and Mr. Hughes then started back to the last cache, twenty-one miles distant, for one hundred pounds each of additional baggage, instructing the boy to kill a young deer and prepare it for the late evening meal. While hunting deer, young Drannan saw three Indians traveling along the ridge in the direction of the dug-out. He had heard his Uncle Kit tell of Indians robbing cabins, so with a total lack of conscience, matched by an equal lack of fear, the fifteen-year-old boy decided to kill the three Indians. Crawling behind a log and taking careful aim, he brought down the leader. The Indians fell to their knees and carefully looked around. The wind blowing from them and over the ridge on which the boy was lying carried the smoke out of sight and he loaded his rifle, lying on his back, as his Uncle Kit had taught him to do. When the two Indians arose and were standing, bows and arrows in their hands, looking for the enemy, he succeeded in killing the second one, whereupon the third fled in great terror. "I had never seen an Indian scalped, but had often heard how it was done, so I pulled out my hunting-knife and took their topknots and started for the dug-out, a great hunter and Indian fighter in my own estimation." As soon as the two men returned, the boy poured out his

[4] Drannan, Thirty-One Years on the Plains and in the Mountains, p. 42.

story and showed his scalps, when Uncle Kit said, "My boy, don't let me ever hear of your taking any such chances again; not that I care for your killin' the Injuns, but you took great chances of losing your own hair."[5] A little later, on meeting Frémont, the General asked whose boy he was. "Uncle Kit replied that I was his boy, and a first-class hunter and trapper, 'and he shoots Injuns' purty well.' He then related the incident of my killing the two Utes."[6]

Again Drannan tells of Kit Carson, two other men, and himself killing seven Utes who had stolen a band of horses from the Arapahoe Indians, and each man receiving a horse from the Arapahoes in return for their trouble and risk. Mr. Drannan recognized good qualities in the Indians and tells of two Pima Indians who, with himself, restored a white girl whom this tribe had captured. He adds, "These two young Indians seemed to be as kind-hearted persons as I have ever met."[7] Captain Drannan goes farther in his recognition of the good qualities of the Indians, maintaining that General Ross broke faith with the Indians and that Captain Jack, the Modoc chief, was treated unjustly by the whites. "While I am no friend to a hostile, I believe in giving even an Indian that which is justly due him, and I must admit that all through this Modoc War I could not help in a measure feeling sorry for the Modocs, particularly Captain Jack, for I knew that through the negligence of soldiers upon Lost River while there catching fish to keep his own people from starving,

[5] Drannan, Thirty-One Years on the Plains and in the Mountains, p. 61.

[6] Ibid., p. 68.

[7] Ibid., p. 286.

he had been driven and dragged into this war, and I do not believe to-day, nor ever did believe, that Captain Jack ought to have been hanged."[8] Despite this testimonial, Captain Drannan captured Captain Jack and turned him over to the white men to be hanged. His sympathy was much like the sympathy which he might feel for a mother wolf or bear which died defending its young.

That men of the intelligence and character of Kit Carson and Captain Drannan, honest men, men who used liquor only as a medicine, men who saw the good qualities of the Indians, who believed in a Divine Providence and in a future life, could show such utter lack of conscience in regard to killing Indians as to mention with pride the number that they killed, Captain Drannan's reaching more than forty, shows the need and the difficulties of missionary labor in the Oregon Country. We could duplicate this utterly pagan attitude toward the Indians by scores of similar stories. This sketch of Captain Drannan is needed to reveal the prevailing attitude of American pioneers that "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." It shows the absolute necessity of Lee and Whitman inducing Christian families to settle in Oregon in order that there might be at least a partially Christian environment in which the Indians might be converted and civilized. At the same time it reveals almost insuperable barriers in the way of missionary labor among the Indians.

J. Q. Thornton. Service of a high type was rendered the territory of Oregon at Washington by J. Q. Thornton. Mr. Thornton came to Oregon in 1846, where his character and abilities led almost immediately to his selection as

[8] Drannan, Thirty-One Years on the Plains and in the Mountains, p. 587.

a judge of the Supreme Court. Before the massacre of Dr. Whitman and the Cayuse war, the unsettled state of the country, the increasing hostility of the Indians, the disturbances by the Molallas, by the Walla Wallas[9] at Battle Creek and the Wascoes at The Dalles, the failure of the government at Washington to recognize the provisional government of Oregon or to make any other provision for the control of the Oregon territory, save the appointment of Dr. White, which was not regarded seriously by the Oregonians, led Governor Abernethy, at the request of some leading citizens, and especially of Dr. Whitman, to appoint Judge Thornton a delegate to Washington to secure favorable action for Oregon.[10] As business was transacted by barter, there was no money in the treasury of the provisional government. But the Rev. George Gary, superintendent of the Methodist Missions, gave the Judge a draft on the Missionary Society in New York for $150, and Noyes Smith gave or loaned Judge Thornton fifty barrels of flour with permission to sell the flour at San Francisco and use the funds. In addition, Governor Abernethy, M. M. McCarver, and Samuel Parker jointly signed a note for $300 which was given to Thornton. Judge Thornton started by ship October 19, 1847, and reached Boston May 14, 1848. When he arrived at Washington he found that Mr. Ritchie, whose son had been with Thornton in college, was editing the organ of the administration; later Ritchie gave Thornton a very favorable notice in the paper. Senators Benton and Stephen

[9] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, p. 301.

[10] For the following account of Judge Thornton's services I am indebted to Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, chap. 62.

A. Douglas called upon him and promised aid, and Douglas introduced him to President Polk, who listened eagerly to the news from Oregon. The news from the new government awakened public interest and admiration. "There was an anomaly in the case of Oregon that commanded the admiration of the world and secured for the representative of this region universal attention and respect. A handful of Americans, who seemed animated as much by patriotic as personal feeling, had taken their leave of civilized life, and with their household *penates,* had crossed the wilderness of the mid-continent to make homes on the banks of the Oregon. Their presence had settled the dispute as to boundary and had terminated the long period of joint occupancy. The world read of this immigration to the Pacific with almost reverence for the few who dared so much and had reclaimed the beautiful region by the Pacific, not only from savagery but from British rule and occupation. The advent in Washington of one of these greater than Argonauts, as a representative of his fellow Oregonians, who had only reached the national capital by half circumnavigating the entire world, the fact of a growing community so remote from trade that they had no money and had only actual barter and exchange of products to depend on—all this cast a glamour of romance over the much-voyaging representative of far-off Oregon, and made his presence at Washington not only a welcome event, but gave him influence and personal magnetism and power that—most fortunately for Oregon—he proved himself wise enough to use to good advantage."[11]

Judge Thornton drafted a land bill giving a section of

[11] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, pp. 702, 703.

land to the head of every family settling in Oregon and setting aside two sections of every township for public education. Congress on organizing the territories had never granted more than one section of land in each township for the public schools. She had just refused the request of Wisconsin Territory for two sections of each township for schools, and in the same bill which provided for the organization of the Oregon Territory the organization of the Territories of California and New Mexico was included, but with no grant at all for public schools. Judge Thornton secured from Calhoun a promise not to oppose the school grant in the bill. Calhoun said he preferred no free schools, and he did not support the bill as a whole because Thornton had incorporated in the bill admitting Oregon the famous anti-slavery clause found in the Ordinance of 1787. Thornton incorporated the clause because it was in the constitution adopted by the provisional government and also embodied his own convictions. The slavery interests approached Thornton with the promise of unanimous support for the Oregon Bill if Thornton would leave out the clause forbidding slavery. Thornton refused, and the bill became one of the milestones in the struggle in the United States Senate between the forces of freedom and of slavery. Diplomatic representatives from every court in Europe were present and the galleries were packed to hear the two-hour speech of Senator Tom Corwin, of Ohio, whose eloquence in extemporaneous debate was equaled by few and excelled by none. Not a sound was heard save an occasional catching of breath by a listener, and not a movement was seen save an occasional twitching of the muscles of an opponent's face as Corwin, beginning with the Ordinance of 1787 and closing

with the proposed constitution of the new territory, poured forth his plea for human freedom. At the close of the speech the Senate sat spellbound apparently for some time, when, on motion, the body adjourned and the dazed company slowly poured out of the Senate chamber. Thornton says, "The elder Ritchie nervously laid his hand on my shoulder, and with lips white as paper and quivering with emotion said, 'A few speeches such as that would sever the bonds of this Union.'"[12] It was from the day of the debate and the vote on the Oregon question that the thought of withdrawal from the Union began to take formal shape in the minds of Southerners, though it had often been suggested before.

The debate was also the beginning of the break in the Democratic party which resulted in Lincoln's election. The provisional government having excluded slavery, Douglas acted on his "Popular Sovereignty" theory, which was the theory of territorial option on the slavery question, and voted for the organization of the territory. But in due time the organization of the Oregon Territory was followed by the Dred Scott decision, which gave slavery a national standing under the constitution and made it the duty of Northern as well as Southern citizens to assist in its preservation. Lincoln, who was a thousand miles from Congress in an obscure law office in Illinois, saw more clearly than Douglas the rift between Douglas's position and the position of Calhoun, who antagonized him in the Oregon struggle and who formulated the theory legalized by Taney. Hence in the famous debate of 1858, Lincoln asked Douglas a question which would force him

[12] Quoted by Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iv, p. 81. See also Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, p. 696.

either to antagonize the people of Illinois and miss the Senate, or else to reveal the fundamental difference between his view of "Popular Sovereignty" and the Calhoun-Taney view then universal in the South, and thus miss the presidency. Lincoln's friends were sure Douglas would take the side of "Squatter Sovereignty"; they advised him to hint that Douglas would prove the tool of the Southern Democrats, but with no vision beyond the senatorial contest begged him not to ask a question which would give his rival the coveted opportunity to win the support of Illinois. Lincoln, in the interest of honest speech, which in the long run is wise speech, asked the question; and Douglas's ready answer in favor of "Squatter Sovereignty" was received with tremendous enthusiasm throughout Illinois and won him the senatorship. Lincoln's friends in sorrow and anger felt that he had been too honest and simple in debate; they told him that he ought to have known Douglas would answer as he did, and that he had lost the senatorship by his question. "Yes," said Lincoln, with satisfaction, "and Douglas has lost the presidency by his answer." Douglas should have remembered that in 1848 the Southern senators—Calhoun, Foote, Butler, Hunter, Mason, and Jefferson Davis—had voted against his "Popular Sovereignty" plea on the Oregon question, and he should have foreseen that his answer in 1858 would never be accepted by the South. But the man with the double motive sees crooked. Simpleness of heart is the price of vision; and Lincoln, not Douglas, saw the fateful import of the latter's hasty answer in his Freeport speech.

Thornton's refusal to compromise and the triumph of his measure were due to a mind, a heart, and an ability

to win friends to his ideals somewhat resembling Lincoln's. Without Judge Thornton's presence in Washington it is clear that Oregon would not have received the grant of two sections of land in each township for free schools; without Judge Thornton's presence Oregon would not have been admitted at all as a free Territory in 1848. His influence with the members of Congress of both parties proved strong and wholesome.

After the passing of the bill President Polk's secretary, Knox Walker, brought George M. Sanders to Judge Thornton's room, and after introducing him immediately withdrew. Mr. Sanders told Thornton that Sir George Simpson had placed in his hands $75,000 to be used where it would do the most good in procuring the sale of the Oregon interests of the Hudson's Bay Company to the United States government for $3,000,000; that a treaty had already been drawn up by the administration for the purpose which was indorsed by the majority of the Cabinet; that it was desirable for the Cabinet to act as a unit, and that the opposing members would favor the purchase if Thornton would write them a letter indorsing it. After a conversation which Judge Thornton made two or three efforts to close, Mr. Sanders offered him $25,000 if he would write the note. Judge Thornton promptly opened the door and ordered him out; then after due deliberation he sent President Polk a note informing him that the property was not worth one tenth of the amount asked and that he had been offered a bribe of $25,000 to indorse the scheme. That Thornton's estimate of the value of the property was substantially just is shown by the fact that twenty-one years later—a period during which property in a new territory usually trebles in price—a joint commis-

sion of the two countries estimated the entire fourteen pieces of property to be worth $650,000, and the United States government paid that sum for them in 1869.[13] Knox Walker, the President's secretary, called the next day, saying that on opening the letters to the President he had found Judge Thornton's communication and begged Thornton to withdraw it. Thornton refused, and Walker, in his distress, told Meek, who was at the White House, and who had already written a letter heartily indorsing the purchase. Meek never could keep a secret, and within a week he had taken the correspondent of the New York Herald into his sacred confidence and told him the entire story. Within a few days the story was published by that excellent newspaper. While executive sessions of the Senate are supposed to be secret, yet it is believed that President Polk had sent the treaty purchasing the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Senate for ratification, but that after the Herald's exposure he withdrew it from the Senate. President Polk had on his own initiative offered Judge Thornton an appointment as federal judge of Oregon. But after sending his letter to the President, Thornton found his welcome to the White House at an end, and never received the appointment, and never received a penny for his nineteen months' service. We submit that in ability, in character, and moral influence the services of the unknown supreme court judge of the provisional government of Oregon outweighed those of the President and his Cabinet.

We have thus portrayed briefly the deeds of a few Americans who helped in the early discovery of Oregon, in the

[13] Johnson, America's Foreign Relations, vol. ii, p. 429.

early settlement of the country, in saving the land from slavery, in laying broad foundations for education, in preventing a war with Great Britain, and in the preservation of the Union. Time would fail us to tell of Abernethy and Applegate, of Burnett and Nesmith, of Matthieu and Sublette and Shortess, of Wilbur and Boyce, of Ebez, Goldsmith, Hilles, Hines, Edwards, and Shepard, of Clarke and Eells, of Kilbourne, Kelby, and Lang, of the Beers, Belknaps, Campbells, Dennys, DeVores, of the Garrisons, Helms, Holmans, and Howells, of the Parishes, Perkins, Starrs, Smiths, Spaldings, and Wilsons, and the unnamed women, "who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, . . . from weakness were made strong . . . turned to flight armies of aliens. Women received their dead by a resurrection: and others were tortured, not accepting their deliverance; . . . And these all, having had witness borne to them through their faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."[14, 15]

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[14] Hebrews, 11: 33-35, 39-40.

[15] For partial list of Oregon pioneers, see Appendix I.

CHAPTER IX

MISSION WORK

"THE real colonization of Oregon, however, the movement which Floyd and Benton had so long hoped to see under way, began two years later (1834) with the arrival from the East of a small party of American missionaries to the Oregon Indians."[1]

It is significant that H. Addington Bruce, the able and conscientious writer who more fully than any other person has set forth the services of Senators Benton and Linn and Congressman Floyd, nevertheless says, "Yet, singularly enough, until that time the great danger was that the United States would, through sheer negligence, lose what undoubtedly belonged to her."[2] And again, after describing the rich territory involved in the contest, Mr. Bruce adds, "This it was that the United States all but lost by reason of the indifference of the American Government and people."[3] Then, after portraying the hopelessness of the efforts of Benton, Linn, and Floyd down to 1832, Mr. Bruce introduces the Methodist missionaries with the quotation placed at the head of the chapter. Mr. Bruce was criticized for attaching too much importance to the work of the missionaries, the critic writing, "It seems probable that the future writers of Oregon history will not

[1] Bruce, The Romance of American Expansion, p. 123.
[2] Ibid., pp. 106-107.
[3] Ibid., p. 108.

emphasize a present popular belief that there ever was great danger that through sheer negligence the United States would lose what undoubtedly belonged to her." Mr. Bruce, with abundant source material at his command, thus answered his critic: "It may well be that some new and important evidence will be adduced, but I do not anticipate that it will revolutionize the present judgment as to the principal actors in the impressive drama."

The facts confirm Mr. Bruce's judgment and show how the missionaries helped overcome the claim that the land was worthless by furnishing the government information in regard to Oregon; met the fear of a second republic by demonstrating that there were no more loyal and devoted citizens of the American republic than themselves and the American settlers beyond the Rocky Mountains who organized the provisional government of Oregon; and helped overcome the preponderance of the British in Oregon by creating the first tides of emigration, which enabled the Americans barely to outvote the British in the crucial struggle for the provisional government in 1843, but a few months later gave them an overwhelming majority.

When the Methodist missionaries reached the lower Columbia in the fall of 1834, they were surprised at the mildness of the climate and were delighted with the great extent and unsurpassed fertility of the Willamette Valley. They found ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company settled upon farms on what is now called French Prairie and living with Indian wives. They found the supply of fish at the Willamette Falls and The Dalles of the Columbia apparently inexhaustible. The large number of Indians in the lower Columbia River basin, the fact that they were at peace with the Hudson's Bay Company—where the

missionaries could find relief in case of need and supplies at all times—the kind of welcome of Dr. McLoughlin, the fact that it was practically impossible to carry back to the Flatheads, seven hundred miles in the interior, supplies which were coming by ship, and the presence at The Dalles and Willamette Falls of Nez Percés, who sent three of the four messengers to Saint Louis for the Bible, and of Chinooks with flattened heads—the providential sign which the missionaries were looking for—led Lee and his colaborers to begin work among the Indians in the Willamette Valley.

They built at French Prairie a log house twenty by thirty feet which served as a home for themselves and for some Indian children, as a schoolhouse, and as a church and hospital. While the others were building the house, Cyrus Shepard took charge of the Hudson's Bay Company school at Fort Vancouver,[4] where the achievements of an Indian boy in reading, writing, and arithmetic had filled the missionaries with enthusiasm. They opened a mission school for the Indians in their new home as soon as it was finished.

Lee wrote to the Missionary Society December 18, 1834, telling of his change of base to the Willamette Valley and of the number and apparent interest of the Valley tribes. He gave an enthusiastic account of the country, of the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of fish in the rivers. To enable the Mission to care for the Indians and to become self-supporting as soon as possible, he urged the Missionary Society to send out a physician, a blacksmith, and several teachers. The

[4] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 80.

church at home was sorry not to hear of the discovery and conversion of the Flathead Magi who had visited Saint Louis, and the people supposed that the Indians needed preachers instead of blacksmiths. But the Society accepted the judgment of Lee and his fellow workers and began to search for more men and means for the Oregon Mission.

In the spring of 1835 the missionaries, having completed their house, inclosed forty acres of land, broke up part of it and put it in wheat; the yield was forty bushels per acre. This enormous yield, with equally remarkable yields of the various vegetables whose seeds they had brought with them and planted, revealed to the missionaries future possibilities of the territory of which they little dreamed when they started out to convert the Indians. But while cultivating the land as a part of their program in order to teach the Indians farming and for the support of themselves and their Indian wards, and while sending home stirring reports of the fertility of the soil, their energies were engrossed in the Mission work. They built an addition to their house equal to the original and filled their building with Indian children, most of whom were orphans, and continued teaching reading, writing, the truths of the Bible, farming, and, in general, Christian civilization. But their success was not equal to their hopes.[5] A clear perception that the Indians must be taught to work in order to achieve civilization, and that they could be led to work only by example, constrained the missionaries themselves to work at farming, in the erection of a barn thirty by forty feet, and in the care of the home, as well

[5] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 82, 83.

as to engage in teaching and preaching. They arranged for the Indians to study and recite half the day and to work on the farm the rest of the time, thus anticipating by a half century General Armstrong's wise method of civilizing the red man.

As soon as Cyrus Shepard returned from teaching school at Fort Vancouver he took charge of the school at the Mission, and P. L. Edwards opened another school at Champoeg, at or just above Willamette Falls. Teaching school, preaching the gospel, religious conversations with the Indian leaders, working on the farm, in the erection of buildings, in the garden and in the home with their Indian wards, and caring for the sick were the daily duties of Mission life, week in and week out, month in and month out, during all the years of missionary work on the Pacific Coast. Narration of stirring incidents gives an entirely false view of missions, if it leads or even permits readers to lose sight of this daily discharge of routine duties which is the substance of missionary life and service.

One of the first and most lasting services which Jason Lee rendered to civilization on the Pacific Coast was the abolition of a few cases of slavery which had already appeared. On the tour of exploration of 1804-06 Captain Clark carried a Negro slave with him as a body servant. The very month the Methodist missionaries reached the Willamette Valley in 1834, Louis Shaugarette, a Hudson's Bay Company trapper, died and left three half-breed orphan children—his wife having died some time before—and five Indian slaves. Shaugarette left a small amount of property in addition to these slaves. Dr. McLoughlin urged Jason Lee to accept the property, including the slaves, and bring up the children in the home he was

building. Lee refused to administer the estate unless the slaves were openly set free, and with the consent of Dr. McLoughlin, who practically ruled the country, their freedom was formally declared.[6] Dr. McLoughlin himself had bought Indian children with benevolent purposes, and as soon as they were able to work had begun paying wages to them, the same as to the other Indians employed by him. He approved Lee's action and was confirmed in his own purpose of giving his purchased Indians their freedom. Thus under the two leaders of American and British interests, slavery disappeared from the north Pacific Coast, and Jason Lee helped to develop in this distant region a civilization which in the later crisis contributed some share toward the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union.

We have mentioned in the chapter on the Oregon pioneers Lee's organization of the Oregon Temperance Society, which took place in 1835, and the success of his effort to persuade Ewing Young and Lawrence Carmichael to abandon the distillery project. As the missionaries now came into longer and closer contact with the Indians they recognized their filth, their immorality, and their diseases, some caught from white men, others engendered by their own filth and immorality. Bancroft says that more than half the Indian children in the Willamette and Columbia Valleys were infected with syphilis.[7] Above all, the missionaries were impressed by the unconquerable laziness of their Indian wards. The missionaries were forced, much against their wishes, to recognize that the noble red

[6] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 82.

[7] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 82, 83.

man looking for the white man's "Book of Heaven," which had fired their hearts and the heart of the church at home, was not true to the existing realities. At times they wondered whether they had not sinned in passing beyond the seats of the Nez Percés and the Flatheads who uttered the original cry for light, and settling in the Willamette Valley; but they learned later that the experiences of Whitman and Spalding in the interior were similar to their own. They now saw that it would take years of patient teaching, line upon line, precept upon precept, and, above all, example after example in industrial training and in Christian living, to bring the barbarous Indian nature up to the nineteenth-century standard of civilization. They had met great encouragement at the start; the Indians had been greatly stirred by the coming of the white men, who apparently had no other aim in life than to help them, and many Indians professed conversion and were baptized; and some of the converts were displaying in their daily lives some at least of the fruits of the Spirit.

During 1836 and 1837 there were twenty-three Indian and halfbreed children in the home, ten of whom were orphans, while eighteen adult Indians and half-breeds attended school. Hence, in addition to the large numbers who usually came to religious services, forty-one were receiving daily instruction and being trained to become fellow workers with the missionaries among their own people. Most of them learned to speak some English and to read sufficiently to spell out portions of the Bible for their people. At first the Indians were eager to pray, but the missionaries found that with their inveterate laziness they regarded prayer as a magic method of securing food and clothing without work. One day an Indian asked Perkins

for a coat; Perkins replied, "You must work and earn one." "O," said the neophyte, "I was told if I took your religion, and prayed for what I wanted to have, I should get it. If I am to work for it, I can earn a coat at any time of the Hudson's Bay Company."[8] Another Indian came one day and reported that his whole tribe had become Christians and learned to pray. "My heart is full of pray," he said, and fell upon his knees and began a broken prayer which was very touching. But he stopped in the middle of his petitions and demanded clothes. Thus the Indians were perverting the most important means of promoting the spiritual life and were using prayer as magic to obtain food and clothing without work.

To meet the conditions which confronted them the missionaries from the beginning attempted to impress upon their Indian wards two doctrines: first, the necessity of trusting in Christ and obeying him as the condition of eternal salvation; and, second, the necessity of work, and especially of farm work, to meet the competition of the white race, which the missionaries saw would be drawn to Oregon by the marvelous soil and climate.

At this point the missionaries were met by another danger which confounded themselves as well as the Indians, namely, the high death rate among their wards. Of the fourteen children received into the home the first year, five died, five through fear of death ran away, and of the remaining four, two died in the second year. Thus out of the fourteen children first received into the home the missionaries had only two left at the end of the second year of instruction. The history of the Indian students

[8] Lee and Frost, Oregon, p. 230.

at Dartmouth College and at Hamilton College repeated itself in an aggravated form in the Willamette Valley. Twenty-five more children were received into the home in 1836, and sixteen of these fell ill, apparently of malaria, but the disease proved to be a form of diphtheria. Through lack of accommodations and also in order to separate the sick from the well, all the stricken ones were kept in a single room, and the death rate was fearful. Evidently, the missionaries were justified in appealing for a physician.

We have thus portrayed the difficulties which beset the missionaries from the start in their effort to Christianize and civilize the Indians. The Missions of the American Board at Waiilatpu and at Lapwai opened in the same encouraging manner as the Missions in the Willamette Valley. Owing to the greater isolation of the Indians at the missions of Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding and also to the stronger constitutions of the less contaminated Indians, those of the interior stations remained more constant in the Christian life for a few years than did the Indians at The Dalles, French Prairie, and Champoeg. But the reaction during the next ten years was greater among the Indians of the American Board stations and resulted in the massacre of the Whitman party. The missionaries of neither Board realized at first how serious were the difficulties; they still believed in the possibility of the immediate salvation of the Indians and were frequently encouraged in the belief that the Missions would prove an incalculable blessing to the Indians of the Pacific Coast. But they also believed in the more rapid transformation of the pagan character and of pagan civilization than New Testament experience, with its examples of lust

invading Christian households and of drunkenness at the Lord's Supper, warranted.[9]

In response to Lee's appeal of December 18, 1834, there arrived in May, 1837, the second missionary group.[10] This group of reenforcements was soon followed by a third group, who failed to catch the earlier boat, but reached Fort Vancouver September 7, 1837.[11] The hearts of the missionaries beat high with joy as they now looked forward to the speedy evangelization of the Willamette Valley and the establishment of civilization within its borders. The Misses Susan Downing, Elvira Johnson, Anna Pitman, and Margaret Smith, and the Mesdames Alanson Beers and Elijah White were the first American white women to set foot on the Pacific Coast; Mrs. Jane Beaver, an English woman, came with her husband, the Rev. Herbert Beaver, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, in the summer of 1836. Mr. and Mrs. Beaver returned to England in 1838.[12] Jason Lee was informed by the Missionary Society that they had selected Miss Pitman as a suitable woman for his wife; and before Miss Pitman sailed she received a hint that the Society would not be offended if she married Jason Lee. Miss Downing and Cyrus Shepard already were engaged. Hence, some six weeks after the arrival of the boat a solemn service was held: the baptism of some Indian children and adults and the reception of the adults into the church, a sermon

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[9] I Corinthians, 11: 21.

[10] See Appendix I, under date of 1837, for Second Group of Methodist Missionaries, pp. 287-297.

[11] See Appendix I, under date of 1837, for Third Group of Methodist Missionaries, pp. 287-297.

[12] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 50-53.

on the sanctity of marriage, followed by the marriage of Jason Lee and Miss Pitman, the service being performed by Daniel Lee; then Jason Lee united Cyrus Shepard and Miss Downing in marriage, and later in the day he performed a similar service for a Hudson's Bay employee named Charles J. Roe and Nancy McKay, a half-breed daughter of Captain McKay; the religious service closed with a love feast, in which not only every Methodist spoke, but several French-Canadian Catholics expressed sorrow for their sins and their purpose to lead a new life; Charles J. Roe and Webley J. Hauxhurst were baptized and received into the church. Soon after the arrival of the third group,[13] H. H. W. Perkins and Miss Johnson, who had been engaged before sailing, were united in marriage. On the arrival of this group, Lee extended the activities of the Mission, establishing a station at Wascopam (The Dalles) in 1838 with Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins in charge. In 1838 Jason Lee visited Nisqually, at the head of Puget Sound, and planned a mission station for that point.[14]

The arrival of the white women, of a physician, a blacksmith, a carpenter, of teachers, and, above all, of homemakers added incalculably to the serviceableness of the Methodist Mission. The Indians were witnessing priceless demonstrations of the advantages of Christian civilization and of Christian family life. Meantime American interests were being instinctively conserved. As already narrated, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1838 furnished transportation to the Roman Catholic missionaries to the Oregon Country to win the hearts of the Indians away

[13] Atwood, The Conquerors, pp. 55, 56.

[14] Ibid., p. 106.

from the Congregationalists, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians and thus remove the missionary motive which had brought the Lees, Whitmans, and Spaldings to Oregon. They proposed to solve the religious problems, exactly as they had solved the commercial problem, by capturing the field from their competitors. Indeed, so confident was the Hudson's Bay Company of its triumph in 1837 that it began to survey and plot a portion of the country in Puget Sound for individual ownership. But Lee also was forecasting the future. As early as January, 1837, he wrote the Missionary Society in New York: "I am fully of the opinion that this country will settle ere long, and if you can send us a few good, pious settlers, you will aid essentially in laying a good foundation for the time to come and confer incalculable benefit upon the people, which will be felt by generations yet unborn."[15] Do you see the questions involved in the entrance of the lower basin of the Columbia by the Methodists in 1834 and of the upper basin by the American Board in 1836?

[15] Ibid., p. 129.

CHAPTER X

LEE AROUSES THE EAST

"He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible."—Lincoln.

We concluded the last chapter with Lee's letter to the Missionary Society urging them on patriotic as well as Christian grounds to send out settlers to Oregon. Lee did not let the matter rest with the formation of an opinion and the dispatch of a letter; he was emphatically a man of action, and his actions display the energy, power of initiative, and willingness to take responsibility which characterize the leader of men.

The Methodist missionaries united in the conviction that Lee himself ought to go East to explain the changing conditions to the Society and the church, to secure more recruits for the Mission, to induce American Christians to come to Oregon as settlers, to impress upon the government the peril to the sovereignty of the United States involved in her neglect, and to urge the administration to provide protection for Americans. On account of the condition of his wife Lee was very reluctant to leave her, and it was only after much prayer and her approval and blessing that Lee decided to make the trip. Before starting East he took further steps in the interest of the United States. Already he had sent one petition to the govern-

ment by Slacum. Now he and P. L. Edwards and David Leslie, all members of the Mission, drew up a second petition setting forth the extent and remarkable fertility of the country, its mild climate, its certainty of speedy settlement, the advantage of the Pacific ports for trade with China and India, and petitioning the government at once to extend its laws over the territory. The passage in regard to the trade with China and India sounds as if those missionaries anticipated "the guns of Dewey at Manila," whose reverberations sixty years later were heard around the world. A convention of the settlers was called in 1838; the prospects of the settlement were discussed, and the petition was adopted and signed by twenty-two Americans residing in the valley, including the nine missionaries and J. L. Whitcomb, employed by the Mission as a teacher. Lee's personal influence was such that in addition to the American signers he induced nine French Canadians, ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, to sign his petition for American government. This is the petition mentioned in Chapter VI as the second petition; it was presented to the Senate January 28, 1839, as the petition signed by J. L. Whitcomb and thirty others.

Jason Lee, with P. L. Edwards, then started East March 15, 1838, taking three half-Indian sons of Captain McKay for an education and two full-blooded Indians to aid in his campaign. Lee reached Dr. Whitman's station April 14 and spent Sunday, the 15th, with him. The conference was full and brotherly, and it is incredible that Lee did not tell Whitman of his plans for an American government on the Pacific Coast as well as of his plans for securing additional missionary reenforcements. Thus, Dr. Whitman probably heard of Jason Lee's plans for American

control of the Pacific Coast four years before he started on his famous ride to Washington.

Lee refused to travel on Sundays, maintaining that the horses would cover as great a distance by one day of rest in seven as by constant travel, and his convictions won the company of pioneers with whom he journeyed to the temporary observance of the Lord's Day. On the way East it was learned that the rendezvous for American traders this year had been changed to an island in the Popo Agie, a branch of the Wind River, and, on account of the danger, the other travelers decided that they would not attempt to reach this rendezvous. Lee, however, with greater courage, decided that if necessary he would ride on alone to the meeting place; one after another each member of the company decided to join him, so that he led them through a particularly dangerous part of the journey.[1] He met here five men and four women of the American Board, the first recruits going to join Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding; and they all united in a mountain prayer meeting. On September 1 the company was overtaken at the Shawnee Mission, near Westport, Missouri,[2] by the courier referred to in Chapter IV, sent by Dr. McLoughlin with a letter to Lee informing him that the little son who had been born to him had died June 7,

[1] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 154, 155.

[2] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 170, says the messenger overtook Jason Lee at the Pawnee Mission near Council Bluffs, Iowa; but Hines, a few years later, visited the Shawnee Mission, at Westport, Missouri, and was shown by Mr. Johnson, the superintendent, the room which Jason Lee occupied when he received the news. See Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 156.

and that his wife had died June 26, 1838. Anna Pitman Lee was the first white woman to die in Oregon, and her death, far removed from her family and her early friends, without proper medical care or nursing, and without her husband's presence, was full of heroism. Dr. H. K. Hines thus describes Lee's receipt of the news: "Late at night, however, after he had retired to his room, and while he was offering up his evening devotions, his door was unexpectedly alarmed. On opening it an unknown messenger put into his hands a package of letters and immediately retired. They were from Oregon, and one bore a black seal, a fearful omen to his eye. He broke it with trembling hand only to read in the first line that his Anna Maria and her infant son were numbered with the dead. All the light seemed to go out of his life in a moment. It seemed only shadow; dark, unrelieved, blinding shadow all around. . . . The night was spent most mournfully; but in its darkness the strong soul had received greater strength from its wrestling with self and sorrow and God. In the morning his dark brow had a deeper shade, his eye told a tale of nightly weeping, but his calmed spirit breathed out its wealth of trust. For the few days he remained at this place his meek, chastened spirituality, his lofty faith in God, his manly bearing in his sorrows, won all minds and all gave him the throne of the good, great man in their hearts."[3]

At the Shawnee Mission Lee began preaching and lecturing on the Oregon Mission and on Oregon. He made a campaign like that of Peter the Hermit in the Dark Ages, of Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal

[3] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 156-157.

Church in behalf of the Union, 1861-65, and of Bishop McCabe in his lecture on Libby Prison—a campaign based on religion and patriotism. Lee spoke at Saint Louis. His story of the Mission, the presence of the Indian boys and the repetition in their native language of the Lord's Prayer and portions of the Scriptures awakened great enthusiasm, while his description of Oregon helped to create the emigration which later saved the country to the United States. Lee reached Alton September 13, 1838, where the Illinois Conference was then in session. Unannounced and unexpected, he entered the church like an apparition with his five Indians marching behind him. The bishop presiding embraced him, and his speeches and the Indian songs and prayers deeply stirred the audience. The influence of Lee's speech and conversations finds voice in the Alton Telegraph's issue of October 17, 1838, which said: "Citizens of the West, will you tamely consent that Oregon, one of the loveliest regions that nature ever bestowed upon man, shall become a powerful country in the hands of England? If Oregon goes from us, the honor of the United States goes with it. Never, no, never yield."[4] In the issue of November 9, 1839, it comments as follows on the value of Oregon to the United States: "It would become a grand thoroughfare to Asia and the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. . . . It would be of great advantage to the Western States, and cause them to increase in population and industrial development and make them the center of this great republic. . . . Nothing but the power of Omnipotence could prevent the United States from becoming the leading nation of the world."[5] Evi-

[4] Quoted by Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 143.

[5] Ibid., p. 144.

dently, Lee had kindled the fires of patriotism as well as of religion.

Jason Lee thus spoke at many places through Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, and reached New York city October 31, 1838, seven and one half months after leaving the Mission.[6] Through the illness of one of the Indian boys he had been detained a few weeks at Peoria, Illinois. The detention, which he chafed under at the time, fell out for the advancement of American influence in Oregon. It enabled him to make the addresses and hold the personal conferences with interested parties which helped to start to Oregon the emigrations of 1838, 1841, and 1843 —the emigrations which secured the region to the United States. It was not Lee's visit alone which created this tide of emigration, though he contributed to it probably more than any other man. The first ripple of emigration through Lee's initiative, but not by missionary support, was felt at Peoria, Illinois, in the autumn of 1838. A band of fourteen persons, among them Joseph Holman and Robert Shortess, was formed during the fall and winter. Their motto was "Oregon or the Grave." They gathered before the courthouse about May 1, 1839, prayer was offered for their safety and success, and they boldly set out on their long expedition. They were followed a little later by a small party from Quincy, Illinois, also inspired by the speeches of Lee.

At Jacksonville, Illinois, the Rev. John P. Richmond, M.D., was pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a man whom Lee at once greatly desired for Mission work. He combined the qualifications of the minister, the educator, the physician, and the statesman in a remark-

[6] Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 67.

able degree. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and had completed a medical course in Philadelphia. He was a member of two State Constitutional Conventions, was superintendent of schools for Illinois for eight years, was speaker of the Illinois Assembly when General John A. Logan and Chief Justice Fuller were members of that body, and was a member of the Illinois State Senate when Abraham Lincoln was a member of the Assembly.[7] Lee's sermons on missions and the songs of his Indian wards appealed to the heroic element in Dr. Richmond's nature. He responded to Lee's appeal to go to Oregon; and before starting West helped by sermons and speeches to make southwestern Illinois the classic ground for Oregon emigrants. Lee gave him the most important station in the Mission—Nisqually, at the head of Puget Sound and not far from the present site of Tacoma, the buildings for which had been erected by the Rev. David Leslie and W. H. Willson in 1839. Had not his discouragement over the disappearance of the Indians and the broken health of himself and his family led to his resignation from the Oregon Mission and a few years later to his retirement from the ministry, Dr. Richmond would have proved Lee's strongest helper in missionary and patriotic work. As it was, Dr. Richmond's decision led such men as Hillis, Kelby, Boyce, Ebez, Goldsmith, Lang, Royal, and others to Oregon; and they contributed greatly to the upbuilding of the church and the commonwealth. Dr. Richmond's interest in the work continued unabated, as a letter published in the Tacoma News of April 8, 1884, shows.[8]

[7] Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 110.

[8] Ibid., p. 108.

Lee also spoke at Springfield, Illinois, and the Sangamon Journal[9] in the issue of February 23, 1839, published Lee's memorial to Congress. The issue of March 9 has an article on the climate, fertility of the soil, and the resources of Oregon; the issue of April 12 announces the formation of the Oregon Emigration Society in Peoria, and similar societies at Saint Charles, Missouri; Michigan City, Indiana; Columbus, Ohio; while the issue of October 12 had a long article describing the sailing of the Lausanne with Jason Lee and the missionary party. Also the Illinois State Register,[10] then published at Vandalia, had an article in its issue of September 21, 1838, based on one of Lee's addresses and describing the mild climate and fertile soil, the work of the missionaries, and the importance of the country to the United States. Its issue of June 10, 1842, contains an article saying: "For Oregon, the people are in motion. . . . The expedition includes Dr. White, who goes as government agent, and many of the most respectable families of the West are now encamped near Independence, Missouri. . . ." It is unnecessary to quote more reports from the Western newspapers. It is interesting to read that a few years later Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was offered the first appointment as governor of the Oregon Territory, and through the interest which had been aroused by the Illinois newspapers, was inclined to accept the office, but finally declined it, on his wife's advice.[11]

Jason Lee was not the only man who went to Oregon and wrote enthusiastic letters back, not the only man who

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[9] Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

[10] Ibid., pp. 142, 143.

[11] Charnwood, Abraham Lincoln, p. 95.

returned East, but he is the only man, so far as we can learn, the record of whose missionary and patriotic zeal can be traced through twelve States from Missouri to Massachusetts, from the District of Columbia to New England, and who conducted a systematic campaign for emigration to Oregon through the religious and secular press.

The letters of Cyrus Shepard and of Susan Downing Shepard, and possibly some contributions of Lee to Zion's Herald, led the Methodists of Lynn, Massachusetts, to organize the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society in August, 1838. The Society published a monthly magazine called the Oregonian, and secured three thousand members, each of whom consented to an annual assessment of one dollar. The four officers of the society were Methodist preachers, and ten of the fourteen members of the Executive Committee were also ministers, thus showing that the movement was organized under Methodist influence and is not the society reported as organized in Boston by Hall J. Kelley. The great aim of this organization was to induce Christian families to move to Oregon and save the Indians by Christian example and neighborly aid. It was a remarkable program in applied Christianity.

Under the treaty of joint occupancy, the conviction grew on both sides that the sovereignty of the country eventually would be determined by the predominance of British or of American settlers. This conviction, along with later developments along the line of this conviction, shows the importance of Lee's work in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Ohio, New York and the New England States, and especially the value of enlisting the newspapers in the campaign in favor of the Oregon Country and in favor of its

control by the United States. The Peoria Party of 1839-40, and the party with which Lee reached Oregon in 1840 were wholly due to his visit to the East in 1838-39; while Dr. White's party of 1842 and the more than eight hundred Americans who migrated to Oregon in 1843 were, in a large measure, due to Lee's visit, to the petitions which he sent to Congress, to the information furnished in part by him and published by the government, to the land grant bills; and to the newspapers of Illinois and neighboring States which he largely enlisted in the Oregon enterprise, which, indeed, continued the agitation long after his departure.

Caleb Cushing, chairman of the House Committee of Foreign Relations, and one of the ablest lawyers in the United States, received the second memorial which Lee himself carried from Oregon; he wrote to Lee for fuller information. Lee replied from Middletown, Connecticut, January 17, 1839, giving the latest information in regard to Oregon and his plan for securing the territory to the United States by emigration. He closed the letter with words which proved prophetic: "It may be thought that Oregon is of little importance; but, rely upon it, there is the germ of a great state."[12] We have already furnished in Chapter VI some strong illustrations of Lee's influence upon Congress.[13]

But the most striking proof of Lee's influence was the fact that the government granted him fifty dollars per person out of the secret service fund to aid him in carrying back the missionary party in 1839.[14] This amounted to

[12] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 173.

[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 217.

[14] Ibid., vol. i, p. 177, note.

about $2,600.[15] Bancroft thus comments upon Lee's influence with the government: "It is not necessary to follow the action of Congress further, in this place. The reference is here made to point out the agency of Jason Lee in directing that action, and the strong influence he seems to have wielded in Washington as well as with missionary board. How much his suggestions, especially concerning land matters, molded subsequent legislation will be made evident in considering the action of the government at a later period. A proof of the favor with which his designs were regarded by the Cabinet is furnished by the appropriation of considerable money from the secret service fund for the charter of the Lausanne, as related by one of her passengers. Lee kept the secret, and so did those who gave him the money, until the boundary question was settled between the United States and Great Britain."[16] In view of the fact that the entire reenforcements of Lee and of White were needed to establish the provisional government and to secure the territory without a war, it is doubtful if our government ever made a wiser use of the secret service fund than in helping pay for the ship which carried Lee's band of emigrants to the Pacific Coast. Jason Lee did not originate Congressional agitation in behalf of Oregon. As shown in Chapter VI, this began as early as 1821. But an examination of the Congressional records shows that the first three petitions asking the

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[15] Pacific Christian Advocate, April 20, 1904 (quoted by Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 67), and Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 201, say that $5,000 was appropriated from the secret service fund.

[16] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 176, 177.

government to extend its authority over Oregon were written by Methodists, and that nine of the twenty-six measures inaugurated by the government, including four of the nine bills introduced, were due in part at least to Methodist initiative.

Lee's influence in New York is shown by the fact that the Missionary Society accepted the fundamental changes in its policy, namely, the change from pure evangelism to applied Christianity and the adaptation of the Mission in increasing measure to the whites while caring for the Indians. The Society authorized Lee to procure and take back every person whom he asked for, and gave him three more ministers than Lee himself had included in his program. Upon the whole, the Society sent out with Lee, on his return in 1839-40, thirty-three adults and nineteen children, making fifty-two persons in all, of whom five were ministers.[17] In addition, the Society authorized the purchase of machinery for farming, including a threshing machine, the iron works for a saw mill, for a grist mill, and all kinds of merchandise, so as to render the missionaries as far as practicable independent of the Hudson's Bay Company and enable them to introduce Christian civilization among the Indians and the whites. To accomplish this task the Society made a grant to Lee of $42,000 for the machinery and merchandise, the outgoing expenses and the salaries for the first year—the largest grant ever made to a single mission thus far in the history of the Society. The Missionary Society, by this action, both recognized and indorsed Lee's policy of introducing Christian civilization into the country, both for the Indians and

[17] See Appendix I, under date 1840.

the whites, instead of the narrower policy of sending ministers only to preach the gospel to the Indians.

One more illustration of Jason Lee's influence over men of affairs is furnished by Bancroft. The Lausanne, which Lee had chartered for the fourth group of Methodist reenforcements, reached Honolulu on April 11, 1840, and remained there until the 28th. "During their sojourn, Lee held a conference with Kamehameha III, relative to the exchange of productions between the Island and Oregon, and an informal treaty of commerce was entered into, to the manifest pleasure of the king." This treaty of commerce was between the Hawaiian government and the Oregon Americans whom Lee represented. Lee with his customary foresight was providing for the commercial growth of the new commonwealth.

We believe this chapter makes clear the fact that Jason Lee's influence upon the country, upon the government of the United States, and upon the Missionary Society of his church, was, upon the whole, far greater than even he dreamed of exerting when he set out in 1838 upon his lonely journey to the East. The Divine Providence is the key to history, and human agents are effective as God works in and through them.

CHAPTER XI

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

S. A. Clarke, who, upon the whole, is an exceedingly fair writer, falls into a strange error as to the origin of American local government in Oregon. Mr. Clarke's defective and in part misleading account springs from his reliance upon W. H. Gray, whose writings Bancroft characterizes as wholly unreliable. Gray's aim was to magnify his work as the author of the provisional government of Oregon. Gray did not need to misconstrue the earlier work of the Methodists in behalf of civil government in Oregon, much less did he need falsely to charge them with opposition to organized American government in the Territory; the facts show that the efforts of the Methodists resulted in only a partial or incomplete government; that the help of the so-called "Wolf Meeting" called by Gray was needed, and that Gray was an effective and perhaps the most effective promoter of the provisional government of Oregon. Let us set forth fully, fairly, and in order, the various steps taken for the establishment of American government in Oregon.

1. The Methodists and other Americans called a meeting, which was held at the Methodist Mission at Champoeg, February 7, 1841,[1] for the purpose of consulting upon the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws and the election of officers to execute them. Jason

[1] Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 92.

Lee was elected chairman of this meeting; and this meeting was held two years before the so-called "Wolf Meeting," which is often named as the first meeting held for the organization of American government in Oregon.

2. Eight days after this meeting, February 15, 1841, Ewing Young died. As he left considerable property and as there was no American court of law in the Oregon Country for the administration of the estate, at the close of the funeral all present were asked to tarry and complete the plans discussed February 7.[2] The meeting, like the funeral, was held in the Methodist church and Jason Lee was again chosen to preside, and Gustavus Hines, another member of the Methodist Mission, was elected secretary.[3] Indeed, Bancroft says that the meeting of the 17th was composed chiefly of the members of the Mission.[4] The meeting passed resolutions to form a code of laws for the government of the settlements south of the Columbia, to admit to the protection of these laws all settlers north of the Columbia not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, to form an organization with a governor, supreme judge with probate powers, three justices of the peace, three constables, three road commissioners, an attorney-general, a clerk of the courts and public recorder, a treasurer, and two overseers of the poor. The meeting nominated a committee to frame the constitution and code of laws and to nominate men for the various offices.[5] It

[2] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, pp. 650, 651. See also Hines, Oregon: Its History, Conditions and Prospects, p. 418.

[3] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 293.

[4] Ibid., vol. i, p. 293.

[5] Ibid., vol. i, p. 293.

will thus be seen that the meeting of February 17, 1841, contemplated the organization of a full civil government. The meeting adjourned to the 18th to hear the committee's report.

3. February 18 the French-Canadians met with the American settlers. "To propitiate and to secure the co-operation of the Canadians were the aims of the leading Americans, as without them, or opposed by them, there would be difficulty in organizing a government." "David Leslie being in the chair with Sidney Smith and Hines as secretaries, the minutes of the previous meeting were presented and accepted so far as choosing a committee to frame a constitution and code of laws was concerned. The meeting chose as the committee F. N. Blanchet, Jason Lee, David Donpierre, Gustavus Hines, Charlevon, Robert Moore, J. L. Parrish, Etienne Lucier, and William Johnson."[6] By making Father Blanchet chairman of the committee the Mission party hoped to secure the French-Canadian Catholic influence and to harmonize sectarian differences. As Lee's was the one name considered for the governorship, but as it seemed unwise to elect the head of the Methodist Mission to this office, it was found expedient to defer the election of a governor, and the convention proceeded to the choice of other officers. I. L. Babcock was chosen supreme judge with probate powers; George W. LeBreton clerk of the court and public recorder; William Johnson, high sheriff; and Zavier Ladaroot, Pierre Billique, and William McCarty, constables. . . . "Until the code of laws should be drafted Judge Babcock should be instructed to act according to the laws of

[6] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 293, 294.

the State of New York."[7] The convention then adjourned to meet June 7 at Saint Pauls, the mission station of the Roman Catholic Church. A partial territorial government was thus organized February 18, 1841, with a judge, clerk of the court, sheriff, constables, and laws.

4. On reassembling June 7 it was found that Father Blanchet, chairman of the committee, had not called the committee together; on the contrary, he sent a letter to the meeting asking to be excused from service. His withdrawal was taken, as was probably intended, to signify that the Canadians had decided to take no part in the organization of a government. Father Blanchet's resignation having been accepted, W. J. Bailey was chosen a member of the committee, and the committee was instructed to report to an adjourned meeting of the convention to be held on the first Thursday in October.

Prior to the October meeting, Dr. McLoughlin advised against the organization of a government. Lieutenant Wilkes was in Oregon in charge of an exploring expedition for the United States government; he had been the guest of Dr. McLoughlin and had been treated with great hospitality by the Hudson's Bay Company, and we believe he was a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. McLoughlin had placed guides and boats and all other aids which it was possible to procure at the service of the scientists of the party. It was natural, therefore, for Lieutenant Wilkes to share Dr. McLoughlin's view, and he also advised against the scheme. Bancroft says: "Finding themselves baffled at every turn, but encouraged to believe that the United States government would soon

[7] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 294.

extend its jurisdiction over them, the missionary party now reluctantly consented to let drop their political scheme for the present."[8] Nevertheless an incomplete but real civil government had been organized by the settlers in the Willamette Valley in the four meetings which we have described; and an American government, independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, was thus formed. Dr. I. L. Babcock had been elected Supreme Court judge with probate powers and during the next two years he was the "head and front of the infant State," as Clarke himself admits.[9] He administered the estate of Ewing Young to the satisfaction of all concerned.[10]

Owing to the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholics the convention probably did not meet in October; at least no record of the October meeting has been found. But the subject continued to be discussed through the winter of 1842-43 by a debating society said to have been organized in Oregon City for this purpose.[11] The question of establishing a government independent of both the United States and Great Britain was said to have been favored by Dr. McLoughlin and several American colonists. Hastings, an American who came with Dr. White's party, but was strongly opposed to White, went so far as to offer a resolution in favor of the plan. George Abernethy, treasurer of the Methodist Mission, offered as a substitute the following: "If the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country within four years, it will not be expedient to form an independent

[8] Ibid., vol. i, p. 296.

[9] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, p. 655.

[10] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 655.

[11] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 296.

government." This resolution was warmly discussed and finally carried.[12]

5. In the autumn of 1842 overtures were again made to the Canadians to join in a temporary government, and a meeting to consider the matter was held at French Prairie. The Canadians declined, presumably upon the advice of Dr. McLoughlin and Father Blanchet. McLoughlin saw that to aid or countenance the establishment of a government owing exclusive allegiance to the United States would be disloyal to his country and his Company. Independent government would be preferable to this; though there was danger that such an organization might fall under the control of Americans and might enact laws inimical to his unsettled claim to land at Willamette Falls, south of the Columbia River. Hence he tried to avoid the issue until the matter of sovereignty could be settled. The Canadians made a formal reply, professing cordial sentiments toward the Americans, declaring they were in favor of certain regulations for the protection of persons and property, and that they were willing to yield obedience to the officers chosen February 18, 1841, although they did not approve of all their measures. They declined to address a petition to the United States to solicit aid until the boundary should be established. They opposed taxation, but favored a council or senate similar to the Canadian Parliament. This answer was directed to the sixth meeting to be held at Champoeg, March 4, 1843.[13] It will thus be seen that, while the opposition of Father Blanchet, Dr. McLoughlin, and Lieutenant Wilkes prevented the meeting of October, 1841, for the adoption

[12] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 297.

[13] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 298, 299.

of a constitution, nevertheless the officers elected by the American settlers in February, 1841, were accepted by the Canadian settlers, and that a sixth meeting was called for the further discussion and settlement of problems of local government. It is thus clear that the plans for a government started by the Methodists in 1841 had not come to naught, that they had resulted in five meetings, in the election of American civil officers whom the Canadians had accepted, and in plans for a sixth meeting. It will also be recognized that Jason Lee was the moving spirit in these five meetings.

6. At this point W. H. Gray, who had come West as a mechanic and secular aid for the American Board Mission in 1836, but who had resigned from that mission and come on to the Willamette Valley in 1842, and who was employed by the Methodist Mission as a carpenter and a teacher, intervened. He wrote and circulated a petition for a meeting of all the settlers February 2, 1843, at the Oregon Institute, the Methodist school where Gray was employed and was living. This meeting anticipated by a month the sixth meeting called for March 4, and in reality took its place. From this time forward Gray seized the reins from Lee's hands and led in the struggle for the provisional government. Owing to the discussion of Lee's name for the governorship, he retired from the active management of the meetings. But some were jealous of his influence with McLoughlin and, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, Lee was at this time unpopular with some of the Methodists. These facts, together with all absence of self-seeking on Lee's part and a general desire of all to avoid factionalism and a general willingness to support every effort looking toward American government, gave

Gray his opportunity. It is only just to Gray to say that he managed with wisdom the meeting of February 2, 1843. This meeting appointed a committee of six to circulate a notice for a meeting of all citizens in the Willamette Valley at the home of Joseph Gervais on March 6 to devise means for the protection of flocks and herds from the ravages of wolves.

7. This became the seventh meeting held by the Americans in the interest of civil government. By general acquiescence the meeting of March 4 was allowed to lapse with the understanding upon the part of some at least that its object would be considered at the "Wolf Meeting" of March 6. As soon as the meeting of March 6 had agreed upon a bounty for wolves, W. H. Gray, by an understanding with the chairman, introduced the subject of better protection for the settlers as well as for their live stock, and he made a very able plea for a committee of twelve to devise or complete a plan of government. Gray's motion prevailed, and the committee was appointed and reported to the second meeting called at Gray's suggestion, but the eighth meeting in the series in favor of a provisional government.

8. The eighth meeting, which was held May 2, 1843, was attended by the representatives of both the British and American sides. After an earnest debate the meeting voted 52 to 50 in favor of a provisional government, and such a government was organized at the ninth meeting held May 3.

Clarke says: "The most powerful opponents of organized government were the Hudson's Bay Company and the Methodist Mission."[14] Gray represents the Hudson's Bay

[14] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, p. 660.

Company and the Methodists, or practically Dr. McLoughlin and Jason Lee, as having formed a government in 1838 and as preferring this autocratic government to a government of the people. As a letter by Mrs. Beggs informs us, the Methodists and the Hudson's Bay Company had agreed upon certain regulations for the settlement. But these regulations were in force in 1841, when the Methodists started the forward movement for the organization of a civil government. The Methodists would not have started this movement had they been satisfied with the incipient government of 1838 and opposed to the establishment of a civil government by the settlers. W. H. Gray, upon whose book Clarke depends, mistakes some criticisms of his own plan of government, and of his indirection in inducing Canadians to attend a meeting for the destruction of wolves and then turning this meeting into a movement for American government, for opposition to the provisional government *per se*.

Against Clarke's statement, based on Gray declaring that the Methodists were joined with the Hudson's Bay Company as opponents of the provisional government, are the following facts:

1. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Methodists far outnumbered all other parties combined, and had they been united in opposition to the provisional government, such a government could not have been organized.

2. The Methodists started the movement for a provisional government in 1841, called six meetings between 1841 and 1843 in favor of the movement and took the leading part in five of them.

3. After W. H. Gray succeeded Jason Lee in the leadership of the movement for American government, the Meth-

odists still cooperated, Dr. Babcock presiding at the sixth meeting.

4. At the seventh meeting—the so-called "Wolf Meeting"—another Methodist, James H. O'Neil, presided, and five of the committee of twelve selected to formulate the plan for the provisional government were Methodists.

5. At the meeting of May 2, 1843, when the provisional government was adopted, a Methodist, Dr. Hines, was chosen to preside. At the convention of May 3, when the government was organized, Dr. Babcock, another Methodist, was chosen to preside, and one of the three members of the Executive Committee was Alanson Beers, of the Methodist Mission. Also W. H. Willson, of the Methodist Mission, was elected treasurer of Oregon at the meeting of May 3, 1843. We find also the name of A. E. Wilson, who was elected supreme judge as a subscriber of thirty dollars for the erection of the first Methodist church on the Pacific Coast, thus showing that whether he was a member of the church or not, he was a supporter of it.[15] G. W. LeBreton, elected clerk of the court, had come to Oregon through Lee's letters to the Cushings and is also found in the list of subscribers to the Methodist Church. Robert Shortess, elected a member of the committee to draft laws, came to Oregon in the Peoria party through the inspiration of Jason Lee and soon after was converted and joined the Methodist Church.[16] Gustavus Hines was chosen to deliver the address of July 4, 1843, and in the absence of Dr. Babcock presided at the meeting of July 5. This recorded activity of the Methodists in the

[15] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 254.

[16] Ibid., p. 255.

two meetings in which the provisional government was organized of itself disposes of Gray's statement made years later that the Methodists were opposed to the provisional government.

6. The Methodists furnished the house for the meetings of the provisional government of May 16-19 and June 27, 28, and that of July 5.[17] Again, Clarke states that one of the greatest obstacles to the success of the provisional government was the unwillingness of the settlers to levy a tax upon themselves for the support of it, but he adds: "Messrs. Beers, Parrish, and Babcock [of the Methodist Mission] engaged to see that board was provided them [the lawmakers]; and the old granary of the Methodist Mission was offered as a legislative chamber. So the legislative department of the provisional government was put into motion without a dollar's expense."[18]

7. When the Executive Committee gave way to a governor on June 3, 1843, George Abernethy, treasurer of the Methodist Mission, was chosen governor, and held the office during the four critical years until the United States government sent General Joseph Lane to Oregon in March, 1849, as governor of the Territory.[19]

8. Clarke furnishes the names of those who voted for and against the provisional government. We cannot trace the religious record of all these men. But so far as we can analyze their record we find that seven of the fifty-two who voted for the provisional government were Methodist missionaries, four more were members of the Methodist Church, five were subscribers to the Methodist Church,

[17] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 305.

[18] Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, p. 662.

[19] Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 156.

though we do not know whether or not they were members, six came out in the Peoria party as the direct result of Jason Lee's speeches, seven came out with Dr. White as the result of the influence of Lee and White and of the land grant bill which Lee had suggested. One was an attaché of the Methodist Mission and married one of the Methodist women who came as a missionary, while one came out on the steamship Maryland as a result of Lee's letter to Cushing.[20]

Deducting three names counted twice, the record shows that twenty-eight of the fifty-two voters in favor of the provisional government came to Oregon or remained in Oregon through the influence of the Methodist Mission. On the other side we cannot find a single one of the fifty men who voted against the provisional government who came to Oregon through Methodist influence or was in any way connected with the Methodists. What becomes of the claim that the "most powerful opponents of organized government were the Hudson's Bay Company and the Methodist Mission"? Do you understand why Jesse Applegate, noted for fairness and accuracy, in his marginal notes on Gray's History of Oregon, characterizes Gray's claim as the man who carried through the provisional government as "new to me"? Do you understand why Bancroft denounces Gray as unreliable, and sums up the work of the famous convention which adopted the provisional government by saying, "The missionary party had won the day"? and by the "missionary party" Bancroft meant the Methodists, who were the only missionary party in the Willamette Valley.

[20] See Appendix II.

CHAPTER XII

FROM INDIANS TO WHITES

"They waste us—aye—like April snow,
In the warm noon we shrink away;
And fast they follow, as we go
Toward the setting day."[1]

After Lee's return to Oregon in 1840 he met the crisis of his life. Hines says that Lee was amazed at the death and departure of Indians from the Willamette Valley during the two years of his absence. Parrish says that five hundred Indians died in the Willamette Valley in 1840, and by Willamette Valley he means the neighborhood of the Mission. The death of Indians in the Willamette Valley is due to causes similar to those which Dr. W. F. Wagner mentions in his introduction to The Narrative of Zenas Leonard: "The introduction by the whites of vices and diseases among the Indians, and particularly the latter, undermined and sapped the vitality of the natives, making them a mere shadow of their former selves and a hopelessly degenerate race. . . . We have already alluded to the destruction of wars among the Indian tribes, . . . yet these wars were a mere bagatelle when compared with the loss of life as a result of the vices and diseases introduced by the white people."[2] Again,

[1] Bryant, An Indian at the Burial Place of His Fathers.
[2] Leonard, Narrative, pp. 37, 38.

Dr. Wagner relates that smallpox was carried up the Missouri by the steamboat Saint Peter in 1837. The smallpox spread like wildfire. The epidemic of 1837 surpassed anything ever known or heard of in the annals of Missouri.[3] The Mandans caught the disease June 15, 1837, and were soon reduced from fifteen hundred or two thousand persons to thirty.[4] The pestilence reached the Blackfeet through the Crows,[5] and spread in all directions. Dr. Wagner adds: "The mortality of this epidemic has scarcely a parallel in the history of plagues, and fully justifies the quotation from the work of Maximilian, 'The destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the wilderness with terrors never before known, and has converted the extensive hunting grounds as well as peaceful settlements of these tribes into desolate and boundless cemeteries.' "[6] "Others [plagues] in 1801-02 and in 1837-38, are estimated to have reduced the plains Indians by one half."[7] The missionaries on the Pacific Coast could not understand the blight of their hopes and the destruction of their work apparently by the hand of God; the Indians concluded that the white man's God was not the Indian's God, and that they were being punished for having abandoned their own Great Spirit. Hines, speaking of the condition of the Indians which confronted Jason Lee on his return in 1840, says: "The Indian race was melting away. Where two years before were populous villages, there were now but scattered wigwams. The

[3] Leonard, Narrative, p. 40.
[4] Ibid., p. 43.
[5] Ibid., p. 47.
[6] Quoted by Leonard, Ibid., p. 48.
[7] Moffett, The American Indian on the New Trail, p. 7.

change was appalling to the superintendent and cast a gloom over every mind."[8] The fact that the Indians did not erect permanent houses or cultivate the land enabled tribes and nations to migrate, and made such changes a characteristic of Indian life. Parkman in one of the fairest and most discriminating chapters upon the Indians with which we are familiar says: "The Indian, hopelessly unchanging in respect to individual and social development, was as regarded . . . local haunts mutable as the wind."[9] The difficulty appeared among the Indians with whom the Hudson's Bay Company traded as well as among those of the Mission. Beckles Willson says that by the Hudson's Bay Company the Cree Indians in all their possessions were estimated at 1,000,000 in 1709, at 100,000 in 1749, and about half a century later at 14,000.[10]

The gradual and increasing flow of whites into the Willamette Valley which accompanied the death of the Indians awakened the suspicion of the Indian chiefs; they believed that there was a connection between the advancement of the one race and the disappearance of the other; and they were reaching the conviction which made a clash between the two races inevitable. Thomas Hill, a Delaware Indian, who made his way across the plains in 1845, was living among the Cayuse Indians near Dr. Whitman's station, and at times at Dr. Whitman's home. During his wanderings across the plains and his residence in the regions of the upper Columbia in 1844, he had told the Indians the fate of his people in the East. He said

[8] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 228, 229.

[9] Parkman, The Jesuits in North America, p. 30.

[10] Willson, The Great Company, vol. i, p. 222.

that first, white religious teachers came; then, white settlers; then, war between the Indians and the whites; and then, the disappearance of the Indians. He prophesied a similar fate for the Indians of the Pacific Coast, if they waited as did the Indians of the East until the white settlers became strong; and he urged upon the Indians immediate war for their altars and the graves of their sires. Joseph Lewis, a half-breed Chinook, had been sent to Maine for an education, and on his return West he became an inmate of Dr. Whitman's home. Despite the kindness of the Whitmans, Lewis remained an enemy of civilization. He confirmed all that Hill had reported, and maintained that the plague around Waiilatpu was due to Dr. Whitman's poison; Lewis was largely responsible for the Whitman massacre of 1847. The Canadian Iroquois employed by the Hudson's Bay Company confirmed the reports of Hill and Lewis in regard to the disappearance of the Indians from the eastern portion of the continent. The fears of the Indians were more than justified. Through malaria, measles, smallpox, syphilis, tuberculosis already they were a swiftly dying race; and they were a doomed people unless measures of relief could be largely and speedily adopted. The tragedy was heightened by the fact that the very speed with which the Indians accepted one part of the missionary program and the parents began to live in houses and the children to study books, only hastened the spread of tuberculosis. Apparently, the only solution of the problem was on the part of the Protestant missionaries large patience, provision for more outdoor life, and less hastening and crowding of the Indians into schoolhouses and dwelling houses; and upon the side of the Indians a full acceptance of the missionary program,

namely, Christianity with its self-restraints, farming, housekeeping, and education, and a firm adherence to that program despite all temporary losses.

While Jason Lee little dreamed that the Indians would disappear so rapidly, no one saw the inevitable conflict more clearly than did he. He did not wait for the clash to come, but attempted to prevent it by early and vigorous action:

1. The chieftain Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox, or Yellow Serpent, was greatly enraged against the whites because of their brutal murder of his son. He had sent this son to the Methodists on the Willamette, and the boy had learned to speak English, and read and write, had been converted and was living a Christian life. After he returned home he went with his father to visit Captain Sutter, of California, on Sutter's invitation. During the visit some cattle were gathered in by Yellow Serpent and some of his men, and in the herd, part of which belonged to the Indians, were a few cattle claimed by some white hunters. The son was suddenly confronted by these white men in the absence of his father and Captain Sutter; and the whites demanded the immediate return of the stolen cattle. The son replied, "I have spoken in favor of their return, but my father is chief and he is absent." The son saw that the white men intended to shoot him and asked time to pray, and fell upon his knees. While praying he was shot by a white man. His father, with a heart crying for vengeance, returned to the region of Walla Walla. Here he learned that Dr. Whitman had started East in October, 1842, and that probably he would lead back more white men. The prospect of the incoming of more white enemies awakened fear and bitterness in the chieftain's heart; and

some of the Indians now began to believe that the missionaries who had come to them in the name of the Great Spirit and professing a desire to help them were the secret agents of white men who were coming to steal away their lands. In view of these dangers, Jason Lee took his life in his hand in a double sense and went boldly into the Walla Walla country in the winter of 1842-43, sending word to Yellow Serpent that he wished to meet him. On this winter trip up the Columbia River Lee came near losing his life. The rise of the river, the floating ice, and the blinding storms made the voyage exceedingly slow and perilous. They had no shelter at night, and Lee and his faithful Indian boatman very nearly died from hunger, wet, and cold. Lee and Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox met on February 7, 1843. Lee expressed his great sorrow over the murder of the son, and condemned in strong terms the brutality of the whites in that affair. In response to Yellow Serpent's question as to whether the whites wished peace or war, Lee, as recorded in his Journal, replied, "That will depend largely upon yourselves." In response to the chieftain's question as to what effect the coming of so many white people into the country would have upon the Indians, Lee again answered as before, and added: "If you imitate our industry and adopt our habits, your poverty will disappear, and your people will have wealth as well as we. Our hands are our wealth, and your people have hands as well as we, and you only need to use them properly in order to gain property." Lee illustrated by pointing out the fact that the Americans, who had passed through their country entirely destitute a few years before, now through their industry had in the Willamette Valley houses and horses and cattle and other property.

Yellow Serpent further asked if Dr. White, the Indian agent, who had visited them at Walla Walla, intended to give them presents. Lee answered, "To be always looking for gifts is a sure sign of laziness, for the industrious would rather labor and earn things than to beg them." Lee appealed to the chieftain in proof of the fact that he had taught the Indians two lessons from the start: first, the way to heaven; and, second, the way of this life. He insisted that from the beginning he had tried to impress upon the Indians the necessity of tilling the soil and thus meeting white men by the use of the white man's own arts. So transparent was Lee's honesty, so unswerving his courage, that his winter visit to Yellow Serpent succeeded in warding off from The Dalles a fatal attack from Indians who could easily have overcome the whites.

2. Jason Lee had largely changed his own missionary policy, and for a time he had almost revolutionized the policy of the Missionary Society because he had seen clearly that mission work among the Indians must consist largely of applied Christianity. Lee had gained soon after entering Oregon the statesman's outlook, and he had been used in a strange and providential manner to inaugurate enterprises which would create an American commonwealth of whose glory he hardly dreamed. But he had never been disloyal to the purpose which brought him to Oregon, namely, the salvation and transformation of the Indians. He remained to the last a missionary at heart. It is true that he had encouraged settlers to come to Oregon as American citizens and that he had written as early as 1837 to the Missionary Society urging them to encourage such migration. It is true that he also asked during his entire superintendency for more laymen—physicians,

teachers, and artisans—and for fewer preachers than harmonized with the views of the church at large. But Lee's request for laymen was not that he might bring settlers to Oregon in the guise of missionaries and with the mission funds, and then use them to save Oregon to the United States; his political aims were entirely subordinate to his religious motives. His demand for laymen was based upon his clear perception of the absolute necessity of introducing applied Christianity, not merely preaching the doctrines and administering the rites of the church. The conviction was more and more borne in upon Lee by his residence in Oregon that the very life of the Indian race upon the Pacific Coast depended upon the Indians mastering practical Christianity with its homely virtues of honesty, industry and chastity, and upon their mastering at least the rudiments of education, including English, arithmetic and hygiene, and upon their mastering housekeeping and farming, thus transforming their rude paganism into modern Christian civilization. Moreover, he felt that the crisis demanded the greatest speed upon the part of the Missionary Society and the Indians before the race melted away.

It was after Lee's return from the East in 1840 that he made his most heroic efforts to save the Indians. Farnham's criticism that Lee brought from the East more missionaries than he could use, and that he brought them for the purpose of securing Oregon to the United States, was based upon an utter misconception of Lee's plans and was thus wide of the mark. Dr. H. K. Hines, in his history of the missionaries' work, shows that Lee actually assumed the spiritual oversight of sixty thousand square miles of territory, as compared with sixty-six thousand in all New

England; and that with only forty adult missionaries, of whom only twenty-three were men, he undertook to Christianize and civilize the Indians over this vast region and to build up on the Pacific Coast a New England for the Indians and the whites alike. By our reckoning Lee had in the Oregon Country, after his arrival in 1840, only twenty-three men, of whom eighteen were married, and five single women, and of this number only ten men and five single women were on salaries after the first year, with whom to supply preachers, teachers, physicians, farmers, and home-makers for this entire region. Hence, Lee stationed these missionaries throughout this immense stretch of territory. It is indeed true that he placed them at the very spots which later became American settlements. But Lee sent his missionaries to these favored locations because Indians most abounded there, and the same advantages which drew the Indians to these centers later made them the cities of white men.

3. Again, Lee, in the hope of saving as many Indians as possible, rendered our government a large service by stationing Methodist missionaries in territory north of the Columbia River, which territory down to that time had been held unchallenged by the British. Lee visited Nisqually at the head of Puget Sound as early as 1838, met many Indians there and after conferring with them decided upon it as a suitable site for a missionary station. In April, 1839, David Leslie and W. H. Willson, a carpenter, went to Nisqually and again met and conferred with many of the Indians and erected a log house eighteen feet by thirty-two feet, for work among them. June 15, 1840, Lee appointed Dr. J. P. Richmond and his wife, W. H. Willson and Miss Chloe A. Clark, a teacher, to the

Nisqually mission. These missionaries antedated by five years all other American settlers north of the Columbia, in territory to which the Hudson's Bay Company claimed an almost undisputed right. Mr. Willson and Miss Clark were married by Dr. Richmond on August 28, 1842—the first white couple married in what is now the State of Washington; and Francis Richmond was the first American child born north of the Columbia.

4. It was in connection with the crisis which the missionaries felt was confronting the Indians—a crisis involving the very life of the race—and in answer to prayers rising at times almost to agony, that the great revivals among the Indians broke out in the winter of 1839-40, 1840-41, and 1841-42. These revivals extended some fifty miles up and down the Columbia and a long distance north and south; and they affected more or less seriously many of the Indians within this territory. The Indians at the stations had received during the preceding years a sufficient amount of Christian training and they had learned enough in regard to Christian experience to prepare them for a work of grace of the Methodist type. Hence the missionaries witnessed among them what they believed to be a genuine conviction of sin and the regeneration of their hearts by the Holy Spirit such as would lead to the transformation of their lives. This gracious work reached its culmination at the camp-meeting held at The Dalles in 1842, at which twelve hundred Indians were present and Lee baptized one hundred and fifty converts, and administered communion to between four and five hundred Indians at a single service. The missionaries, with their experiences limited to a more fully developed race, did not yet fully realize that the Indians, with wills and spirits

changeable as children and with passions strong and with little training in self-control, would need long spiritual discipline before the Christian lives of most of them would become established. God's grace is sufficient for just such cases, and those who proved loyal to the grace given them revealed a supernatural power molding their lives. But the majority of the Indian converts soon lapsed into their lifelong habits of idleness and self-indulgence.

5. Lee also founded an Indian branch mission settlement a short distance from Willamette Falls in the hope that the Indians, freed from contamination with the unconverted whites who visited the larger settlements, and especially in the hope that the Indians thrown upon their own resources and intrusted with self-government, would develop a Christian type of civilization. In order to enable them to buy machinery and some household utensils without debt, Lee raised $400 for them, securing five dollars to twenty-five dollars each, from a considerable number of American and Canadian settlers, he being the largest contributor. The Indian Farm Mission was a failure, for, though assisted in their farming, the Indians proved so indolent and apathetic that they failed to earn their own support, and soon drifted back to beg in the American community.

6. Out of the fears which the failure of the Indian Farm Settlement inspired grew the most heroic effort ever made by the Oregon missionaries to provide for the preservation and uplift of the Indian race. At a meeting held May 10, 1841, a committee was appointed to select a new site for the Mission school.[11] At this meeting Lee pro-

[11] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 201.

posed a Manual Labor Boarding School, into which the young Indians should be taken, away from the barbarous contaminations of the camp and trail. He proposed to take the young people rather than mere children, and to furnish them an education in which intellectual training should be largely supplemented by domestic science for the girls, by farming for the boys, and by general cultivation of the arts of home-making and modern living. With remarkable faith and self-sacrifice the Mission was removed from Chemawa to Chemekete, ten miles farther south on the southern edge of the Chemekete plain, on land which is now a part of Salem, the capital of Oregon.[12] Here was erected a building costing $10,000—for long the largest and most imposing building on the Pacific Coast. It contained a manual training department, recitation rooms, a dormitory for the young men, and a dormitory for the young women. Here the Indians of both sexes were gathered in 1842-43, and the missionaries here made their last and most heroic struggle to save a dying race. Dr. Hines, with intimate knowledge of the movement, writes: "It was a great and noble effort to stay the tide of destruction that was setting in upon the red men of the Willamette Valley, and showed the splendid steadfastness of Mr. Lee and his colaborers to the original purpose for which the church had commissioned them at the first—the instruction and elevation of the Indian people.[13]

In 1844 Dr. Gary had superseded Jason Lee. Unfortunately, he closed the Manual Labor Boarding School for the Indians, according to Hines, against the judgment "of

[12] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 232, 420, 421.

[13] Ibid., p. 251.

the oldest and most steadfast and capable of the missionaries." Dr. Gary, not waiting for experience to determine his policy, but following the policy agreed upon by him and the Missionary Society before he left New York, namely, to close the Mission but to save Methodism the property so far as practicable, sold to the trustees of the Oregon Institute the property for $4,000.[14] Dr. Gary by his sale of the Mission claim to the private corporation sacrificed both the Mission claim and the claim of the corporation to a square mile of the property which is now in the very heart of Salem, the capital of Oregon.[15] Had he followed the advice of the older missionaries, and, above all, had Jason Lee been present as superintendent, the Methodists would have maintained the Manual Labor School for the Indians, and the Missionary Society would have received from the government land worth far more to-day than the entire cost of the Mission.[16] That Jason Lee and the older missionaries had not contemplated the abandonment of the Indian young people is shown by the removal of their entire Mission to an isolated station for their Indian school and by putting $10,000 of personal subscriptions into the Indian school building. That neither Lee nor the older missionaries contemplated securing the fine Indian school building for the use of their own white children is shown by the fact that January 17, 1842, Lee called a meeting to plan a school in Chemekete for the white children and that a committee was appointed and $4,000 subscribed, all save $350 by the missionaries, for the school building, and that a building was begun

[14] Ibid., p. 421.

[15] Ibid., pp. 352, 353.

[16] Ibid., p. 351.

and $3,000 were expended on it during 1843.[17] It should be added that the Rev. Harvey Clark, an independent Presbyterian missionary, was a member of the committee to select a site for the building for the white children, and that W. H. Gray, who had come from Waiilatpu to the Willamette Valley, superintended the erection of the building;[18] and it was in this original Oregon Institute building, in what is now Salem—not in the building later known as the Oregon Institute, but then known as the Manual Labor School, also in Salem—that the famous "Wolf Meeting" was held.

Dr. Hines called the year 1842 the New Era. It was in this year, he says, that the Methodists generally perceived the failure of the great revivals to transform any large proportion of the Indians, and that the increasing tide of American emigration made necessary the turning of the energies of the missionaries to the building up of white civilization on the Pacific Coast, along with continued care for the Indians. Dr. Hines writes: "Up to 1840 it had been entirely an Indian Mission. After that date it began to take on the character of an American colony, though it did not lay aside its missionary character or purposes."[19] He wisely adds: "This change could not be avoided, and it ought not to have been even if it could. . . . If they [the missionaries] came to convert Indians, they came as well to plant the seed of Anglo-Saxon civilization in the soil of the decayed and decaying paganism."[20]

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[17] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 201-203.

[18] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 202, 203.

[19] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 239.

[20] Ibid., p. 239.

As marking this transition, Lee conducted the first camp-meeting for the white people in 1843. The number was small, but the interest was great. Nineteen unconverted white men were present at the camp-meeting Sunday morning. Before the evening service ended sixteen of these had become Christians, among them Joseph L. Meek, the Rocky Mountain hunter. This revival greatly encouraged the missionaries in their work among the whites, especially as the results, upon the whole, proved more permanent than the great revival among the Indians —though it must be admitted that several of the men, including Meek, soon fell again under the dominion of their appetites.

Jason Lee and several of his brethren never abandoned all hope for the Indians. As late as August 12, 1843, Lee wrote the Society at New York: "With all the discouragements which I encounter, I feel it to be a duty to God and the Board to say that our interest in the Oregon Mission is not in the least abated. Oregon is still of infinite importance as a field for missionary operations among the Indians."

One can readily understand how a missionary, realizing the infinite worth of each human soul and bound to these Indian wards by nine years of unremitting devotion, could write such a letter as this in the midst of his discouragements. And he was entirely right in maintaining, despite the lapse of the majority of the converts, that the salvation of this Indian remnant was of infinite importance. The history of the Indians in Oklahoma and other States today, like the history of the remnant among the Israelites, will yet vindicate Lee's prophecy. As Hines well says of Lee and the other missionaries, "They clung to the In-

dians and the Indian missions with the tenacity with which faithful men cling to the work in which they have invested the love of their heart and the strength of their life."[21] The crisis was hastened by the death on January 1, 1840, of Cyrus Shepard, whom Bancroft regards as the missionary most devoted to the Indians, by the return to the States in 1842 of Daniel Lee and of Dr. Richmond, whom we regard as two of Jason Lee's most efficient helpers in the Indian work; and it was still further hastened by the return to the States in 1844 of H. K. W. Perkins, whom Bancroft ranks next to Shepard in devotion to the Indians.

All admit that Jason Lee and his compeers showed no lack of practical foresight, or, we would prefer to say, no lack of divine guidance, in shaping the Christian civilization of the Northwest Coast for the white people who were increasingly occupying the region. In October, 1843, Lee, in writing to the Society, assured its members that the mission had also vast possibilities for the white race. "On one point I have not a shadow of doubt, namely, that the growth, rise, glory and triumph of Methodism in the Willamette Valley are destined to be commensurate with the growth, rise, and prosperity of our infant, but flourishing and rapidly increasing settlement." These last two quotations from Lee mark the two thoughts which during his career were uppermost in his mind: the salvation and civilization of the Indians, the salvation and civilization of the whites. But the faith of the missionaries in the Indians and their heroic efforts to save them show not

[21] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 360.

alone the clearness of their judgment, but the largeness of their hearts and the greatness of their devotion to a dying race. While they believed that the whites would certainly come to the country, they did not think the Indians must disappear. And, indeed, there never was any divine reason for the doom of the entire race. A spiritual kingdom depends upon the spirit of each member; hence God always deals spiritually with individuals, not with races. The promise from of old has been, "But now I will not be unto the remnant of this people as in the former days [when it knew not God], saith Jehovah of hosts. For *there shall be* the seed of peace; the vine shall give its fruit, and the ground shall give its increase, and the heavens shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to inherit all these things."[22]

It is true that a decaying race, as the Indian race was at that time, coming into contact with a strong but half-Christian race, as the white race was and is, speedily adopts the vices of the stronger race; and only slowly, and as individuals, masters its virtues. This makes all the more solemn the responsibility of the white races in the world. Hence it was true that after the great revivals of 1839-42, and after the later struggles of the missionaries in founding the Manual Labor School, they still saw a majority of their converts sink into the grave and a portion of the remnant lapse back into paganism. But a remnant was saved, and it has survived; and it is increasing faster than the Negro population of the United States. The commissioner of Indian affairs reported recently that the Indians in the United States numbered

[22] Zechariah, 8: 11, 12.

137,000 in 1900 and 209,000 in 1916. It constitutes the seed through which Almighty God will perpetuate the Indian race. And the glory of Gustavus Hines and Cyrus Shepard, of H. H. Spalding and Harvey Clark, as well as of Jason Lee and Dr. Whitman, and the Roman Catholic priests, is the survival of that remnant which shall yet become the glory of the American aborigines.

CHAPTER XIII

LEE'S SUN SETS

JASON LEE—"the peer of any man who adorns the roll of modern workers in the Church of Christ."—Bishop Matthew Simpson.

Jason Lee's affairs now rapidly drew to a crisis. While the results of his services constitute an epoch in the history of the church and an honorable incident in the history of his country, yet the years 1840-1843 broke his health and ended in his death.

Lee's personal tragedy was precipitated by a colossal blunder on his part; and the tragedy is in part due to the fact that the blunder was the result of an absorption in his work, a lack of thought in regard to himself or his own personal interest, which often characterizes men engaged in great tasks. We are amazed in Lee's case over his mistake as to the time of his second marriage, as we are amazed in Wesley's case over his blunder in the choice of a wife. Neither man reckoned wisely with those domestic influences which often prove the making or marring of a career. Lee learned of the death of his first wife while at Westport, Missouri, on his journey to the East. Our readers will remember that immediately after learning of her death, perhaps in part to drown his sorrow, Lee plunged into the work of awakening interest in the Indian race and in Oregon. Before he left Westport, he gave the

first of the series of lectures which were to arouse Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois and to start emigrant trains to Oregon.

But the white women in Oregon were not engrossed in public affairs. Moreover, Anna Pitman Lee was the first white woman on the Pacific Coast to die; and she died honored and loved by all her associates. The hearts of all the settlers were greatly stirred; we can easily imagine how deeply moved were the women in that distant settlement, and how in the intervening two years, they thought often of Jason Lee's loneliness and sorrows. Mrs. Lee had been given Christian burial; but everybody in the Mission and in the Willamette Valley expected a memorial service on Lee's return to them.

Meantime other friends in the East, who did not know Lee's first wife, who did not fully appreciate the tragedy of her death, but who marked the loneliness of Lee when he was not absorbed in his work, saw the need of a companion for him during the coming years and suggested to him the wisdom of a second marriage before going back to those distant wilds. The name of Miss Lucy Thompson, of Burlington, Vermont, was mentioned as that of a suitable helpmate. Following his own impulses and the advice of his friends in the East, and with no foresight whatever of the shock that would come to his friends in Oregon, fifteen months after the death of his first wife, and just before sailing for the Columbia, without the slightest hint to his friends in Oregon, Lee was married to Miss Thompson. After the first terrible surprise and reaction on the part of Lee's friends in Oregon over the unexpected second marriage, Mrs. Lucy Thompson Lee won universal respect and love by her unselfish Christian character. If Lee was to take a second wife back to Oregon

he made a wise selection in Miss Thompson, or had the good sense to accept the wise selection largely made for him by his friends. We may add that on the birth of her first child, a daughter, she died—March 22, 1842.

But Lee overlooked the embarrassment in which he inevitably placed himself, his friends in Oregon, and his second wife by his marriage before he returned to the Willamette Valley. Lee had not met these friends since the death of his first wife; he had had no opportunity to hear from them the story of her devotion to him between his departure for the East, and her illness and death, and the messages she had left for him; and he could not now tell them of the agony through which he had passed when the messenger brought the news of her death and the death of their son. Bancroft thus portrays Lee's painful announcement of his second marriage to his friends: "Jason Lee . . . took a canoe and went in advance to the Mission. When there he handed over the ship's list of passengers, headed by the name of Mr. and Mrs. Jason Lee, that he might notify his old companions that he had returned with another wife. He made no remark on the subject, and nothing was said to him. Deeply stirred had been the sympathies of his old associates as they thought of his return to his desolate home; and now the revulsion of feeling was so great that the supremacy of Jason Lee in their hearts was thenceforth a thing of the past."

This revulsion of feeling speedily led to misunderstanding of Lee's present motives. First of all, the new missionary party was entirely too large to be absorbed by the few missionaries already on the field and led by their experience to accept those modifications of early ideals and illusions with which young people enter upon mission

work; and Dr. McLoughlin and others noticed that they did not enter into the spirit of the older workers or fully accept their point of view. Like most new missionaries, they failed to anticipate the discouragements inherent in the very nature of missionary work. The ground of missionary activity is the fact that pagan races are on a lower plane of spiritual, moral, intellectual, and physical life than are Christian people; but the new missionary never quite realizes how much is involved in this statement until he faces the actual conditions of paganism. Experience on the field leads older missionaries to accept lower standards of physical comfort, and a mixture of manners which often offends the taste of new missionaries. Experience in the field sometimes broadens the sympathies of older missionaries and leads them to a recognition of truth in a pagan faith or of reason for a pagan custom which the younger missionary regards as inconsistent with his ideal —an ideal narrower and sometimes loftier, than that of his older brothers. In some cases it is true that long contact with a lower civilization dims the vision of the ideal, and the older missionary has a lesson to learn from his younger brother. A period of reaction and discouragement is almost inevitable on entering a mission field. When the number of new recruits is large, it is almost impossible to prevent this discouragement finding voice among themselves and giving rise to complaints to the friends at home and often to the missionary authorities. Thus a large influx of new missionaries always involves the possibilities of a tragedy. In this case the tragedy was rendered imminent by the fact that the Mission to the Indians began with the belief that the Indians could be transformed by sudden conversion into the equals of the

white race; and that it was undertaken with the purpose of thus transforming the Indians, while work among the whites was regarded as purely incidental. It is true that the early missionaries wrote back repeatedly that the white work was bulking larger and that the Indians were suffering much from disease. The very fact that out of the fifty-two men, women, and children whom Lee brought out for his work in 1840, only five were ministers was a demonstration on its face that the new group were to undertake the settlement of the country and work for the whites as well as for the Indians, and, above all, that the new Christian settlers were slowly to mold the Indians to higher ideals by their example in Christian homes and industries. But the church at home, and even the missionaries on coming to Oregon, still cherished the old ideal of transforming the Indians suddenly into civilized people equal to the whites. There seemed to be little recognition upon the part of anyone that even the white races have been many centuries in reaching their present stage of Christian civilization. Hence when the group of 1840 reached Oregon and saw how rapidly the Indians were disappearing from the Willamette Valley and the whites supplanting them—indeed, how largely the Indians already had disappeared—they almost felt that Lee had misled them as to the purpose of their coming. The tragedy of Lee's premature second marriage was that the marriage in advance of any memorial service—a marriage which rendered any memorial service impossible—shocked his old friends and lost him their moral support at the very time when he most needed it to lead the missionaries in the transition which was inevitable, if civilization in Oregon was to become in any sense Christian. Jason Lee's

influence over the missionaries in Oregon began to suffer almost as if Lee himself were to blame for the doom befalling his wards and for the change in the work to which the missionaries must more and more adapt themselves. Jason Lee and Dr. Whitman each, after their conference on Lee's journey to the United States in 1838, urged the wisdom and necessity of bringing Christian laymen and their families to Oregon as a home mission field in the expectation that they would become self-supporting on reaching their destination, and that as Christians helped by the church to new opportunities for their own families they would by precept and example teach the Indians to become Christian citizens and to establish Christian homes. The American Board had sent out at first one layman. But Dr. Whitman in his hurried trip to the East in 1842-43 did not succeed in inducing his Board to give him a single additional layman. Jason Lee had far more influence with his Society, and brought back Abernethy as steward and Miss Lankton as stewardess; Babcock as a physician; Misses Clark, Phelps, Phillips, and Ware and Thomas Adams, the Indian young man, as teachers; Campbell and Olley as carpenters; Judson as a cabinet-maker; Parrish as a blacksmith; and Brewer and Raymond as farmers. But when some of the missionaries sent to the more distant posts saw that of the fifty-two men, women, and children, including himself and wife, who went to Oregon in 1840, thirty-two[1] were left in the Willamette Valley, they blamed Lee for an unequal distribution of the force. But the laity, most of whom remained in the valley, were expected to support themselves and by example

[1] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. iii, p. 188.

and by Christian helpfulness show the Indians what Christianity means. Including himself, who was superintendent of the entire Mission; Leslie and Walker, the two ministers; Abernethy, the treasurer and storekeeper for the entire Mission; Miss Lankton, the stewardess for the school; and one woman teacher, there were only six persons supported by the Missionary Society for work in the Willamette Valley, a section of his field which was about the size of Massachusetts.[2] Surely, this was not an extravagant appropriation for so large a field. But the death and the flight of the Indians led some of the laymen forthwith to give themselves wholly to secular pursuits, blaming Lee for the lowering of the ideal with which they had come to Oregon. Besides, it was impossible that the Missionary Society and Lee as the prime mover should make this radical change from the accepted missionary program of the period without serious criticism upon the part of the more conservative Christians and some reflections upon motives upon the part of the world. Hence the criticism of Lee and the Missionary Society by so good and so great a man as President Olin, of Wesleyan University, and the appointment, by Bishop Hedding, of Dr. Gary to supersede Jason Lee, are not to be wondered at, though greatly to be deplored. Long experience of failures in Indian missions conducted on the old lines, General Armstrong's later success along the very lines laid down by Lee, and Booker T. Washington's success at Tuskegee among the Negroes, more than confirm the wisdom of Lee's and Whitman's plans.

Near the close of 1843, Lee, without the knowledge that

[2] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xx, p. 242c.

he had been superseded, had heard enough complaints during the three years since his return to recognize the necessity of once more going East to explain the latest changes in the conditions of Oregon and the corresponding changes in the work of the missionaries. On reaching Hawaii in 1844 on his way home he learned that he had been superseded, and left Hawaii February 28, and arrived in the United States in time to reach the General Conference in May of the same year. But the General Conference of 1844 was in the throes of its great struggle over slavery —the struggle which resulted in the division of the Church —and had no time to think of a Mission in a distant part of the country. Lee was advised to go to Washington and report progress to the government, and meet the Missionary Society after the General Conference. That his efforts, as a whole, in Washington had not been in vain is shown by the report of the secretary of the interior, Columbus Delano, later in a decision awarding the Methodist Episcopal Church the property at The Dalles, on which Jason Lee had established one of his missions: "From 1834, when the American missionaries first penetrated this remote region, a contest was going on as to which nation should possess it; and that probably depended on the fact as to which could first settle it with emigrants. The Hudson's Bay Company, the Catholic missionaries, and the British government were on one side; on the other side were the missionaries of the American Board and the Methodist Society who had established their stations among the Indians and who attracted the tide of American emigration that turned the scale in favor of our government, resulting in the establishment of the territorial government of Oregon, wholly American in interest, which exercised all the

functions of government until the erection of the new Territory of Oregon by Congress." The United States through this official representative thus recognized the services of the American churches.

Jason Lee appeared before the Missionary Society July 1, 1844, and explained that he had carried out the exact policy he had outlined to them when he had written from Oregon in 1834 asking, not for ministers, but for a physician, a blacksmith, a farmer, a carpenter, and teachers, and that the Missionary Society had indorsed his policy by sending him the very persons he asked for—a physician, a blacksmith, a carpenter, two women teachers, and one minister. Again, he pointed out that on his visit to the East in 1838-39 the Society, after hearing his report, questioning him as to his plans, and discussing the subject fully, accepted his policy, and sent him back to the Mission with the machinery, merchandise, etc., for which he had asked and with thirty-three adult missionaries, of whom only five were ministers. He showed that the changes which had now taken place in Oregon, the strange and sudden disappearance of the Indians, and the increase of white emigration made the plans which they originally adopted in 1834 and readopted in 1838-39 almost perfectly adapted to the new conditions which now confronted them. The Rev. A. F. Waller's article, published in the Christian Advocate and Journal of May 19, 1841, and his own long letter published August 25, 1842, had told them of the rapid disappearance of the Indians through smallpox and other diseases. He maintained that had he or the Society foreseen the changes which were coming, they could not better have adapted their plans to the conditions which now faced them in Oregon. The facts which Jason Lee

presented to the Society amply vindicated his foresight; and the conviction grew upon the members that, as Lee maintained, the credit for the adaptation of the Mission to the changing conditions was not due to any human foresight but to the Divine Providence. At the close of Lee's address his personal vindication was complete. Probably had not the Rev. George Gary already been sent to the field, the Society would have continued Lee in charge of the Mission. Lee, with real modesty and unselfishness, bowed to the decision of the Society and announced his willingness to return and serve under Dr. Gary. The Society gladly accepted his offer, but urged him to remain East for a few months for the recuperation of his health and the collection of funds for the Oregon Institute. He visited Wilbraham, Massachusetts, where he held a public meeting in the interest of Oregon; and then his nephew, Daniel Lee, at North Haverhill, New Hampshire, where he again spoke on his favorite theme; he then returned to his old home at Stanstead for a few weeks of rest before starting for Oregon. But his eleven years of toil and exposure, the loneliness of his homeless life, the burdens of the Mission and of the country, broke his Herculean frame; he felt keenly the complaints of the missionaries in Oregon; above all, the implied reproach of his brethren of the Missionary Society and of the church nearly broke his heart; and he found himself rapidly falling a victim to tuberculosis probably contracted from his Indian wards. We must remember that Lee's second wife had died, and that he was burdened by domestic sorrow as well as by the complaints of his brethren. His brethren assured him that they had not meant to hurt his feelings; but the lonely man could not grip life again, and he sank into the grave

March 12, 1845—one of the most statesmanlike and heroic figures in missionary annals.

Unfortunately, Jason Lee not only suffered at the close of his life, but his memory has suffered since his death by the unworthy detraction of careless writers. Mrs. Dye has made an unfair portrayal of Lee's relation with Dr. McLoughlin; and even a man with the general knowledge of the whole field, and the passion for facts which characterizes Bancroft, has permitted one of the writers of his history to give the following mixed estimate of Lee's character, which inevitably leads the reader to condemnation for which the writer escapes the blame: "I would not present Jason Lee as a bad man, or as a good man becoming bad, or as worse now, while tricking his eastern directors and cheating McLoughlin out of his land, than while preaching at Fort Hall or seeking the salvation of the dying Indian children. He was the self-same person throughout, and grew wiser and better if anything as years added experience to his life. He was endeavoring to make the most of himself, to do the best for his country, whether laboring in the field of piety or patriotism; and if on abandoning the missionary work and engaging in that of empire-building, he fell into ways called devious by business men, it must be attributed to that specious line of education which leads to the appropriation of the Lord's earth by ministers of the Lord, in so far as the power is given them. In all these things he sought to do the best, and he certainly was doing better work, work more beneficial to mankind, and more praiseworthy, as colonizer, than he had formerly achieved as missionary."[3] "How

[3] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 214.

he justified the change in himself no one can tell. He certainly saw how grand a work it was to lay the foundation of a new empire on the shores of the Pacific, and how discouraging the prospect of raising a doomed race to a momentary recognition of its lost condition, which was all that ever could be hoped for the Indians of western Oregon. There is much credit to be imputed to him as the man who carried to successful completion the dream of Hall J. Kelley and the purpose of Ewing Young. . . . Taken all in all, and I should say, Honor to the memory of Jason Lee."[4] "That he had the ability to impress upon the Willamette Valley a character for religious and literary aspiration, which remains to this day; that he suggested the manner in which Congress could promote and reward American emigration, . . . "[5] the facts make clear.

The references found in Bancroft's volumes derogatory to Jason Lee may be summed up in the statements: (1) that Jason Lee was angry with the Rev. David Leslie and left him for at least a year without an appointment and with no support for himself and five motherless children because Leslie had the temerity to differ from him in his discharge of Dr. White from the Mission;[6] (2) that Lee played the hypocrite while cheating Dr. McLoughlin out of land at Willamette Falls;[7] and (3) that Lee was worldly and ambitious, and deceived the Missionary Society and misappropriated a large amount of their funds.[8] In considering these charges it is only fair to bear in mind Ban-

[4] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 221.
[5] Ibid., vol. i, p. 220.
[6] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 196, 197.
[7] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 203-225.
[8] Ibid., vol. i, p. 220.

croft's condemnation of all missionary work mentioned in the Preface and the criticism of ministerial training and of ministers in general in the quotation made above.

In regard to the first charge: the picture drawn in Bancroft's volume of Dr. White furnishes justification for Lee's conclusion that White ought to sever his connection with the Mission. But there is not a line of evidence adduced in proof of the statement that Lee left Leslie without an appointment because Leslie favored White. The facts are these: As the statement in Bancroft's volume itself makes clear, Leslie's wife died in February, 1841, leaving him with five motherless daughters to support and educate;[9] but the writer does not state that the mother of these children was the aunt of the Rev. Bradford K. Pierce, D.D., long the able and beloved editor of Zion's Herald of Boston, and that these children were, therefore, Dr. Pierce's cousins. These motherless children were thus connected with one of the finest New England families and were sure of care and education, if Leslie could only take them or send them to New England. Leslie was, therefore, at his own request, left without an appointment in 1842 in order to take his children to Hawaii and, if possible, send them from there on to New England. We find no record that he was left without a salary; the present custom of the Missionary Society in such cases is to provide half salary and traveling expenses; though it may not have acted so favorably in the early days. Cornelius Rogers, who had been a member of the American Board Mission, and had been honorably released from the Mission, had come to Oregon, had met the Leslie family, and

[9] Ibid., vol. i, p. 190.

had fallen in love with Leslie's oldest daughter. He proposed marriage to her after the family had gone aboard the brig Chenemas to sail for Hawaii. Mr. Rogers's proposal was accepted and the marriage service was performed. Then with a mother's interest this eldest daughter, with the full consent of her husband, begged her father to leave the two youngest sisters with her, and Mr. Leslie consented. This left him with only two daughters to provide for instead of five. Nevertheless, he went on with these two daughters to Hawaii and placed them in school there until he could send them back to New England. Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, with the youngest of Mr. Leslie's daughters, were drowned at Willamette Falls five months after their marriage, that is, early in 1843. Another one of Dr. Leslie's daughters died in Hawaii. Leslie returned to Oregon in 1843. Later he himself married and provided a home for the two remaining daughters. This simple recital of the facts ought to set at rest the charge that Jason Lee left a brother missionary, who had five motherless children to care for, without any visible means of support because Leslie differed from Lee in his estimate of Dr. White. This baseless assumption of Lee's jealousy is rendered forever impossible by the fact that when Lee decided to return to the East in 1843, that is, within a year of the time when it is alleged "Lee punished Leslie," he selected Leslie of all men in the Mission to represent him in his absence, and appointed him acting superintendent of the entire Mission. What fuller refutation is needed of the baseless charge of Lee's ill treatment of Leslie?

The second charge, that Lee cheated Dr. McLoughlin out of land at Willamette Falls, is equally baseless. Dr. McLoughlin had and exercised despotic power over the

employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, controlling not only their service but their conduct outside their hours of labor. The charge against Jason Lee is based on the assumption that he had and exercised an equally despotic authority over the lay missionaries, and especially the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The charge rests on the further supposition that Lee, Waller, Parrish, and the other Methodists at Willamette Falls were in a conspiracy to cheat Dr. McLoughlin out of his claims. The evidence as cited by the writer in Bancroft's History shows that Lee openly always favored McLoughlin's claim, that he disagreed with most of his Mission at that point. But it is assumed that this is a part of the conspiracy and that Lee played the hypocrite in order to deceive McLoughlin; that he had the power to control the Methodist ministers not only as to their appointments, but in all their acts as citizens, and that had Lee sincerely desired to support McLoughlin's claim, he would have prevented the Rev. A. F. Waller, a Methodist minister whom Lee stationed at Willamette Falls in 1840, ever laying claim to the land in dispute. A careful analysis of the facts even as stated by the writer in Bancroft fails to convict Lee of falsehood, of hypocrisy, or of attempting to perpetrate the slightest injustice upon Dr. McLoughlin. The story of conflicting claims to the ownership of Willamette Falls, set up by Dr. McLoughlin and by Waller, is a long one, and much has been written on each side. Lee believed in the justice of Dr. McLoughlin's claim. But a majority of the Methodists then on the ground, with all the facts before them, supported Waller's claim. Congress dealt generously with the early settlers of Oregon by making grants to most of them, but Congress also, even after

Waller's claim had lapsed, rejected Dr. McLoughlin's claim. The Legislature of Oregon, with all the facts before it, rejected Dr. McLoughlin's claim for years, and in so doing it reflected the general judgment of the citizens at that time. But Lee stood out against the overwhelming majority of the Americans and supported McLoughlin's claim. The story of the claim in brief is as follows: Dr. McLoughlin recognized the great value of these Falls and laid claim to them in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company as early as 1829 and began some improvements on them. But the Company objected to the location of a mill south of the Columbia River on the ground that they purposed making this river the dividing line between the two countries.[10] Later McLoughlin determined to build a mill at the Falls for himself, and it is said that he erected several houses and a mill race.[11] McLoughlin's attempt to claim land south of the Columbia being strenuously opposed by some of his British friends, he decided, about 1838, to relinquish the land and waterpower to his stepson, Thomas McKay. Later still he decided to keep it himself, and he built a house to replace improvements destroyed by the Indians, and openly claimed the right of preemption. Upon the whole, it seems to us that McLoughlin had maintained a claim to the land and waterpower at the Falls superior to that of any other man, and that his claim should have been granted by Congress. Waller's claim rested on the ground that neither McLoughlin nor any representative of McLoughlin ever had lived at the Falls, that he himself was the first white man living upon and actively occupying this land, and that he (Wal-

[10] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 217.

[11] Ibid., vol. i, p. 203.

ler) was an actual bona fide citizen of the United States, whereas McLoughlin was an alien and the agent of a "foreign corporate monopoly."[12] It is stated by Bancroft[13] that Felix Hathaway, in the employment of the Mission, began in 1841 to erect a house on an island below the Falls—a part of the land included in McLoughlin's claim; and that McLoughlin on speaking to Waller about this trespass was assured by Waller that he had taken a claim lying below McLoughlin's claim and that Hathaway then discontinued building a house on the island. I cannot find that Lee had any connection with Hathaway's attempt to erect this building or that Hathaway was employed by Lee, who was superintendent of the Mission. So far as we can learn, Lee's first connection with the case was in the autumn of 1842, when Dr. McLoughlin told him of the report that Waller intended to dispute his claim.[14] Lee, after consulting Waller, assured McLoughlin that Waller had no such design. Later in the year McLoughlin again appealed to Lee. On Lee going to Waller a second time, Waller insisted that Lee had not understood him correctly, though Lee understood him exactly as McLoughlin understood him in McLoughlin's first interview. Lee now learned for the first time that Waller intended to contest McLoughlin's claim. Hence Lee wrote McLoughlin in answer to his second complaint as follows: "From what I have since heard, I am inclined to think I did not understand Mr. Waller correctly, but I am not certain it is so."[15] We are not attempting to

[12] Ibid., vol. i, p. 215.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 204.
[14] Ibid., vol. i, p. 205.
[15] Quoted by Bancroft, Ibid., vol. i, p. 205.

clear Waller, but to vindicate Lee. Had Lee possessed the power to control Waller's acts as an American citizen, then Lee was responsible for his failure to do so and for the pressure of Waller's claim against McLoughlin; and Lee's letter to McLoughlin had in that case been deceitful. But everyone at all familiar with Methodism knows that no superintendent of a mission and no bishop in that church has the slightest authority to interfere with the civil or political rights of any minister. He has the authority to appoint him to his work; and the minister is compelled to accept the appointment given or else withdraw from the Conference, though not from the church. Lee's additional statement in his letter to McLoughlin is correct: "You will here allow me to say, that a citizen of the United States by becoming a missionary does not renounce any civil or political right. I cannot control any man in these matters, though I had not the most distant idea when I stationed Mr. Waller there that he would set up a private claim to the land."[16] Hence, instead of starting with an entirely false theory of the power of a superintendent of missions and charging Lee with hypocrisy, the writer in Bancroft's History should have known that the laws of the church relieve him of all responsibility for Waller's action in filing this claim. It is true that six Methodists and three other citizens of the Falls joined with Waller in 1841 in the organization of the Island Milling Company, which in 1842 erected a sawmill on the disputed claim.[17] It must be borne in mind that Lee had lost the sympathy of the missionaries by his second marriage; that already several of the missionaries had sent home com-

[16] Quoted by Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 205.

[17] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 206, 207.

plaints against him; that apparently one of the grounds of complaint was Lee's inclination to surrender what they regarded as their rights as American citizens to Dr. McLoughlin, the head of a Company which they claimed was unjustly usurping authority over the Oregon Country. This charge against the Hudson's Bay Company appears in the petition of 1842 written by Shortess, who was a Methodist.[18] Again, Lee said that a compromise which was rejected by the Mission party and others composing the milling company, was a fair and liberal offer on McLoughlin's part.[19] Again, when Lee and J. L. Parrish, of the Methodist Mission, were visiting Fort Vancouver in 1843, and Parrish affirmed at the public table that he never heard of McLoughlin's claim to the island before the milling company began the erection of the sawmill upon it, Lee immediately corrected him, saying, "I attended your first or second meeting, and it is the only meeting I attended, and I told you that McLoughlin claimed the island."[20] This shows clearly that Lee was present at one meeting of the milling company; that in that meeting Lee told the company that McLoughlin claimed the island, and that despite the information given them by Lee, the company erected a sawmill on the claim in dispute.

The Methodist Episcopal Church by the action of either Lee or Leslie as superintendent of the Mission, probably by the act of Leslie on his knowledge of Lee's judgment, removed Waller from Oregon City to The Dalles, thus compelling him to abandon his claim, through failure to

[18] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 207-209, note.

[19] Ibid., vol. i, p. 213.

[20] Quoted by Bancroft, Ibid., vol. i, p. 214, note.

continue his residence at the Falls.[21] We do not believe that Waller was removed from Willamette Falls in order to destroy his claim. It is probable that his business affairs at Willamette Falls were injuring his usefulness as a minister at that station. But his transfer to The Dalles was due to the need of ministerial help at that point. Daniel Lee and his wife, who were stationed at The Dalles, sailed for home in April, 1843. This forced the problem of The Dalles upon Jason Lee before he sailed for home probably early in 1844. Toward the close of the summer of 1844 Perkins also left The Dalles for the East. Hence either Jason Lee before sailing, or Leslie some time after Jason Lee sailed, appointed Waller to The Dalles to continue the work in that mission; and Waller, like a loyal Methodist minister, accepted the appointment and went to The Dalles, thus sacrificing his claim at the Falls. Hence, either Lee or Leslie, or more probably both combined, by changing Waller's appointment removed that bar to McLoughlin's claim.

We have the following additional assurance of the friendship of Jason Lee for Dr. McLoughlin and of his fairness toward the French-Canadian settlers: In Congress a persistent effort was made, especially against McLoughlin, by limiting the grant of six hundred and forty acres of land in the proposed Oregon land grants to citizens of the United States. But Bancroft says that "Linn's land bill, which was suggested by Jason Lee himself, had no clause preventing foreigners of any nation from becoming citizens of Oregon, but bestowed on every white male

[21] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 355.

inhabitant six hundred and forty acres of land. McLoughlin accordingly had that amount surveyed to himself in 1842. . . ."[22]

It would be far more plausible to charge Lee with a weak surrender to McLoughlin and injustice to Waller. Because of Waller's removal to The Dalles, neither he nor the Methodist Mission in the end set up a rival claim for the grant of Willamette Falls. Dr. McLoughlin's petition, therefore, went before Congress with no rival claimant. How, therefore, is it possible to maintain that Lee contributed to McLoughlin's failure to receive the favor which he asked of Congress? Congress, however, refused McLoughlin's petition and granted the Falls to the State of Oregon toward the endowment of a State university. Dr. McLoughlin then petitioned the State of Oregon to grant him the Willamette Falls site. The Oregon Legislature refused the petition and voted to grant the claim to the State university. Many years later, though unfortunately not until after Dr. McLoughlin's death, the State reversed its early decision and made a grant to Dr. McLoughlin's estate.

We hold, with Lee, that morally Dr. McLoughlin was entitled to the site which the Island Milling Company, a majority of whom were Methodists, claimed. But Jesse Applegate, whom Bancroft commends so highly for his accuracy and fairness, held that McLoughlin's claim to the site of Willamette Falls was invalidated by the position taken by the Hudson's Bay Company. After narrating the efforts of Dr. McLoughlin in 1844-45, under orders of his company in London, to keep Americans from set-

[22] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 217, 218.

tling north of the Columbia, and of Dr. McLoughlin's tearing down the log house which two Americans had built on some uninclosed land, just north of the river, claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company and used by them for the pasture of their cattle, Bancroft gives the following résumé of Applegate's comments: "The British in Oregon had also a local weak point to defend. They had been ordered by the Board of Management (the London officials of the Hudson's Bay Company) to remove their establishment on the south side of the Columbia to the north side, but had not done so, and were occupying territory supposed to belong to the United States, when they forcibly ejected an American citizen from the territory they claimed for Great Britain."[23]

A summary of the recorded facts in regard to Dr. McLoughlin's claim furnishes clear proof of Lee's fairness and his friendship for McLoughlin: (1) He accepted a quit claim deed from McLoughlin for the lot at Willamette Falls on which the Methodist church was located, thus legally recognizing McLoughlin's claim to the Falls; (2) he located the Methodist claim for land at the Falls outside of McLoughlin's claim, thus again recognizing the validity of that claim; (3) he corrected Parrish's statement that he, Parrish, did not know McLoughlin claimed the island; (4) he asserted that the compromise proposed by McLoughlin and rejected by the Methodists was fair; (5) he refused to insert the word "American" before "settler," which he was asked to do in order to exclude McLoughlin and other Britishers from the land grants made to settlers in Oregon; (6) he maintained these views

[23] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 463.

and performed these acts against the sentiment of his fellow missionaries, of the local community, of the Oregon Legislature, and of the United States Congress. Indeed, Lee's support of McLoughlin was one of the causes of that opposition to himself by members of the Mission which led to his own downfall. It is a pity that a man should be represented after his death as a hypocrite in the transaction in which in some measure at least he sacrificed the support of his followers, at a time when this failure cost him his own position, through his loyalty to a friend of an alien faith and a foreign nation.

As to the third charge—that Lee was worldly and ambitious, that he deceived the Missionary Society in New York and misappropriated missionary funds—the facts disprove it as fully as they disprove the two former charges. In regard to the claim that Lee misappropriated missionary funds: a careful study of the charge shows that all the writer in Bancroft's history means by this ugly charge is that Lee used for white work money which the Society appropriated for work among the Indians. Even the writer does not mean that Lee appropriated to his own use any money contributed for mission work. On the contrary, the writer recognizes that with many opportunities to make wise investments, Lee remained a poor man to his death. She records the fact that the last letter which Lee wrote practically gave his own daughter, without property, to Dr. and Mrs. Hines, who had cared for her since her mother's death and coveted the privilege of bringing her up in their own home and allowing her to bear her father's name; and that the next to the last letter which Lee wrote was one bestowing upon the Oregon Institute the small amount of property which he possessed,

thus showing his unselfish devotion to his church and the Mission down to the hour of his death.

What is left of the charge, namely that Lee deceived the Society in New York and used for white men money sent for the Indians, is wholly disproved by the record. So far from Lee deceiving the Society, it was with their full knowledge that he took to the field in 1839 the mixed group of preachers, teachers, physicians, mechanics, and farmers, with their wives and children. The facts were not only discussed in detail and unanimously adopted by the Society, but they were spread before the church. If the writer in Bancroft had consulted the Christian Advocate and Journal, he would have found spread out in the pages of the official organ of the church in its issue of December 21, 1838, a sort of proclamation by Nathan Bangs, the secretary of the Missionary Society, setting forth to the entire membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church the program in detail, stating clearly that the plans as unanimously approved by the Society embraced a gristmill and a sawmill with all necessary building materials, tools, and implements; authorized Lee to take out, in addition to this machinery, $5,000 worth of goods; provided for Lee to take out, in addition to five preachers, six mechanics, four farmers, a missionary steward or treasurer and a stewardess, one physician, and five teachers, and suggested that men be selected whose wives were competent to teach the Indian children; and, finally, that of the five preachers as many as possible be physicians also. The proclamation stated that $30,000 were needed to cover the initial expenses of materials, cost of passage, and salaries for the first six months.[24] This appeal by Dr.

[24] Atwood, The Conquerors, pp. 68, 69.

Bangs, spread before the church, shows how wide of the mark is the charge that Jason Lee deceived the Methodist people, much less the Society, which unanimously adopted his program. As a matter of fact, Lee secured $37,000 from the church, which with the $2,600 received from the secret service fund of the government, made $39,600—$9,000 more than the amount originally called for. The only item in the budget over which there was any secrecy was the gift of the government, and the government did not wish this gift published lest it prejudice her negotiations with Great Britain. But Lee entered the gift in his Journal with all other gifts, and on the other side of the account entered the money as paid out in securing passage for the missionaries to Oregon. We account for the charge that Lee tricked his Eastern directors on the theory that the brilliant author of the chapter in Bancroft had no conception of the common sense of the folks called Methodists, or the methods of modern mission work, but thought that the managers of the Missionary Society were pious ninnies who believed only in sermons and tracts, but would raise their hands in holy horror over the common sense methods of Lee and Whitman, of General Armstrong and Booker T. Washington.

It was a time of transition, and there were grounds for honest differences of opinion as to the proper mission policy for work among the Indians, and we do not wonder that Christian men, and especially writers who had never devoted serious thought to mission problems, became confused over the issues. But there were only three possible solutions for the Indian problem which confronted the American churches:

First is the attitude which the historian of the Pacific

Coast, H. H. Bancroft, takes: "Speaking generally, all missionary effort is a failure. . . . The greatest boon Christianity can confer upon the heathen is to let them alone."[25] This view is of a piece with the principle which for half a century dominated the secular thought and sometimes the conduct of the frontier settlers, and found expression in the proverb, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." We are ashamed to add that during three centuries of contact with the Indians the churches, by their neglect of the Indian race, largely have acted upon Mr. Bancroft's view. This view is essentially pagan and is a century out of date.

The second policy, which, could it have been embodied, might have proved best for the Indian race, was their separation from the white race until they approximated the white man's stage of civilization. As the white races required centuries to pass from their first knowledge of the gospel to their present stage of civilization, probably the Indians could not have compassed the journey in a century. But such a separation of the two races could not be achieved by the churches; it demanded government action. The United States government seriously contemplated this policy; and again and again she initiated it by establishing reservations for the Indians. But two grave difficulties prevented the success of government reservations. Great Britain as well as the United States recognized the Indians as a separate nation by making treaties with them. It was, however, inconsistent with our theory of personal freedom and also a violation of our recognition of the sovereignty of the Indians, and repug-

[25] Bancroft, History of Northwest Coast, vol. i, p. 549.

nant to the wishes and ideals of the Indians, for the people of the republic to compel the people of a sister nation to remain upon one side of an imaginary reservation line; theoretically the Indians had a greater right to cross the line of reservation and revisit the scenes of their childhood and the graves of their fathers and to remain in the United States as settlers than the people of Russia and Italy and Spain. With the conception of the untrammeled sovereignty of nations and of personal and religious freedom which prevailed in the United States down to the twentieth century, the second solution of the problem was as impracticable as the first was pagan. Moreover, no political party during the last century could have continued in office any length of time if it had attempted to maintain against the encroaching whites a reservation for the Indians sufficiently large to give them a fair opportunity to pass from the hunting to the farming stage of civilization; the second solution of the problem was impossible.

The third and only other solution of the Christianization of the Indians possible to the churches of the United States was that proposed by Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman and for a time adopted by our Missionary Society. It was indeed revolutionary; it seemed extravagant; it involved an abandonment of the old lines between sacred and secular callings; it rested back upon the conception that not the life of the minister only but of every Christian is a plan of God. But in the inevitable and the speedy settlement of the Oregon Country, and especially of the Willamette and Columbia River Valleys, by the whites, what other course was open to Jason Lee and Dr. Whitman except to urge the missionary societies to send preachers and teachers and Christian carpenters and blacksmiths

and physicians and farmers into the country as rapidly as possible, make plain and attractive to the Indians applied Christianity, and thus, through example and cooperation, through regeneration and education, lift the Indian race to a plane where it could compete with the incoming whites? It has been said that the Missionary Society was extravagant in asking for $30,000 to aid Lee in 1839, and that any aid of Lee by the government trenched upon the independence of church and state. But in view of the fact that it was only four years from the time of Whitman's appeal to his Board until he and Mrs. Whitman were massacred and the three glimmering torches of civilization which the American Board had kindled in the upper basin of the Columbia went out in darkness, that it was only nine years from the time the Methodist missionaries set foot in Oregon until the American whites were there in force and the provisional government was established, and only thirteen years until their missions also were closed by the Indian war, the verdict of history will be that all the churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, should have moved with far more energy and speed along the only line possible to prevent the impending crisis.

In the missionary annals of the Methodist Episcopal Church Jason Lee bears the same relation to Melville B. Cox as in our early history Bishop Asbury bore to Bishop Coke. Coke was the prophetic dreamer; Asbury realized Coke's dream. So Cox was a splendid prophecy of the triumphs of the Kingdom. He entered Africa with comprehensive plans and flawless consecration on March 9, 1833. Four months and twelve days later he lay dead upon the field, leaving the church only his heroic summons, "Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up!" Lee

had barely time to hear this dying cry for Africa before taking up the march toward the western shores of America. There he became in fact what Cox was in splendid purpose —the man who set the stamp of his life, as well as the glory of his death, upon the missionary enterprises of the church. Well may Bishop Simpson in the Cyclopædia of Methodism pronounce him "the peer of any man who adorns the roll of modern workers in the Church of Christ."

CHAPTER XIV

MARCUS WHITMAN

"Upholding, like the Ark of God,
The Bible in their van,
They went to test the truth of God
Against the fraud of man.
They trod the prairie as of old
Their fathers sailed the sea,
And made the West as they the East
The homestead of the free."

We have portrayed the work of seven factors in the struggle: of the American Indians; of the Hudson's Bay Company; of the Roman Catholic Church; of the British government; of the United States government; of the American pioneers; of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have yet to describe another important factor.

In its early history the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions represented the Congregational, the Dutch Reformed, and the Presbyterian Churches of the United States. This Board, like the Methodist Missionary Society, had been stirred by the appeal of the Nez Percés and Flatheads. The Presbyterians, whose representative had attended and spoken at the farewell meeting held in New York for Jason Lee, were not behind the Methodists in a desire to evangelize the Indians. But tempering their zeal with caution, the Dutch Reformed Church at Ithaca, New York, sent out

in 1835 the Rev. Samuel Parker with directions for a preliminary survey of the field before locating a mission. By arrangement of the American Board the Rev. Mr. Parker met at Saint Louis Dr. Whitman, who was going out for the Presbyterian Church on the same mission. They traveled together in a company of white trappers from Saint Louis as far as Green River. On meeting representatives of the Nez Percés at Green River and learning that the Methodist missionaries had passed beyond their country, Dr. Whitman in his zeal resolved to return at once to the States and bring out reenforcements in the spring of 1836 and go to work among these Indians. Mr. Parker consented to Dr. Whitman's return, but he continued with the hunters and trappers and Indians and reached Fort Vancouver October 16, 1835—a year after the Methodists arrived.[1] He visited the mouth of the Columbia River and the Willamette Valley, spent the winter at Fort Vancouver, where he originated the custom of assembling the Canadians twice each Sunday and reading to them in French a portion of the Scriptures and a sermon, went back in the spring to Fort Walla Walla, selected Waiilatpu and Chemekane as future stations for mission work; he then returned to the States by way of Vancouver and Honolulu, reaching Ithaca May 23, 1837, having traveled twenty-eight thousand miles.[2] In 1838 he published his Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains. Through this book Parker made a real contribution to the knowledge of Oregon at a time when such knowledge was greatly needed. He thus made a double contribution: first, to the cause of missions, and,

[1] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, pp. 104-112.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, p. 124.

second, to the American settlement of Oregon. Owing to its issue in 1838, four years before Dr. Whitman's trip to the East, and to the sale of fifteen hundred copies within a few years of its issue, Mr. Parker's volume did more to awaken the East and secure emigrants for Oregon than did Dr. Whitman's famous trip to Boston and Washington in 1842-43.

Dr. Whitman returned to Boston from Green River and reported the facts and received authority from the American Board to secure reenforcements for work among the Nez Percés and Flatheads. He appealed successfully to Miss Narcissa Prentiss, daughter of Judge Prentiss, of Prattsburg, New York, to become his bride. They were married in February, 1836, and with his wife he set out on his second trip West February 6. At Pittsburgh they met the Rev. H. H. Spalding and his wife, who were on their way from Oneida County, New York, as missionaries to the Osage Indians. After due consideration and prayer the Spaldings accepted the urgent invitation of the Whitmans and changed their plans from the Osage to the Nez Percés Indians. At Liberty, Missouri, the four were joined by W. H. Gray, previously referred to, a single man, who had been engaged by the American Board as a mechanic and secular aid to the mission. Dr. Whitman had been furnished by the Board with blacksmiths' tools, some carpenters' tools, a plow, grain, and garden seeds, etc., for making the Mission as far as possible self-supporting. At Liberty they bought wagons, pack mules, horses, and sixteen cows. Dr. Whitman succeeded in taking his wagon as far as Fort Boise; this is the first wagon ever taken beyond Fort Hall.[3] The missionaries went past the In-

[3] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 133, note.

dians to whom they were sent and on to Fort Vancouver, which they reached September 13, 1836. There the two women remained while the men went back to explore the country. Mrs. Spalding and Mrs. Whitman were the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains, going over the South Pass, six years before Frémont gained fame as "The Pathfinder" by describing it; the two brides enjoyed one of the longest wedding journeys on record. The men left Fort Vancouver on the return tour of exploration November 3 and reached Waiilatpu, six miles from what is now Walla Walla, November 14. In accordance with the Rev. Samuel Parker's judgment, Dr. Whitman decided to settle here among the Cayuse Indians. After constructing temporary quarters, W. H. Gray was left here while Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding went ninety miles farther east to Lapwai, about ten miles from what is now Lewiston, Idaho, which they reached November 28. Mr. Spalding decided to settle here among the Nez Percés Indians. In 1837 Mr. Gray returned to the East for reenforcements, married, and came back to the mission field, bringing his wife and accompanied by the Revs. Cushing Eells, A. B. Smith, Elkanah Walker and their wives, and Mr. Cornelius Rogers. The Revs. Cushing, Eells, and Elkanah Walker settled among the Spokanes at Chemekane, not far from Fort Colville, on a site which had been selected for the mission by the Rev. Samuel Parker. We believe the Rev. A. B. Smith and wife settled at Kamiah. As a matter of fact, after investigating the conditions on the field, no Protestant or Roman Catholic missionary considered it wise to found a mission among the scattered Flatheads in the mountains of Montana.

The missionaries at Lapwai and Waiilatpu built log

houses, broke up the land, sowed grain and planted garden seeds, and carefully attended to the horses, sheep, and cattle; at the same time they began preaching to the Indians, teaching the Indian children to read, and the older people to break up the land, build houses and do housework. Mr. Spalding erected at Lapwai a gristmill and a sawmill, both of which proved of great service. Dr. Whitman had a small mill consisting of a spherical wrought-iron burr, four or five inches in diameter, surrounded by a counterburred surface of the same material, run by water, in which he could grind flour enough in a day to last the large family, including the Indian children whom he soon had on his hands, for a week. Mrs. Whitman started a school at Waiilatpu which contributed greatly to the civilization of the Indians. A Presbyterian church was organized at Lapwai in 1838 and another at Waiilatpu about the same time. The church at Lapwai is still in existence with a full-blood Indian pastor, and is the mother of Presbyterianism on the Pacific Coast. The Presbyterian Church, since the separation of the work of the two churches, has shown greater perseverance and accomplished more for the remaining Indians than any other Protestant church.[4]

In starting schools and also in teaching the Indians farming the American Board followed in the footsteps of the Methodist Mission, because similar conditions called forth similar efforts. The native church of the American Board at Honolulu sent Mr. Spalding a printing press in 1839, Mr. Hall, one of the printers of Honolulu, bringing it and teaching the missionaries at Lapwai how to operate

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[4] See footnote 11, page 79.

it. This was the first printing press west of the Rocky Mountains. The members of the American Board at Boston, like the members of the Methodist Missionary Society at New York, were surprised that their missionaries were so soon engaged in teaching, farming, milling, weaving, etc., instead of being completely absorbed in preaching the gospel. During the next few years the Board also was hard pressed to secure funds for the Mission. From its start in 1835 to its close in 1847 the Mission is reported to have cost the Board over $40,000.

Again, like Jason Lee, Dr. Whitman gradually became interested in saving the Oregon Country to the United States. As already narrated Lee visited Dr. Whitman on his first trip to the States in 1838, carrying with him the second petition for the establishment of the United States government in Oregon. Lee remained with Whitman over Sunday and was enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Willamette Valley, while Whitman was equally enthusiastic over the fertility of Waiilatpu. Dr. Whitman was stirred over the coming of the Roman Catholic missionaries to Oregon in 1838, and especially over the arrival of some eighty emigrants, including women and children from the Red River Country in 1841.

Dissensions having arisen between Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, Whitman decided to resign. But the accidental drowning of Dr. Whitman's daughter, June 23, 1839, brought the missionaries together in sorrow, and their dissensions were temporarily healed. But Cornelius Rogers resigned from the Mission in 1841 and went to the Willamette Valley, and W. H. Gray resigned in October, 1842, and also went to the Willamette Valley. On Dr. Elijah White's return to Oregon in 1842 with about one

hundred and twenty-five emigrants, he brought with him a letter from the American Board to Dr. Whitman. On account of the cost of the Missions and the dissensions of the missionaries this letter instructed Mr. Spalding to return East.

The fate of the Mission was hanging in the balance; for the letter of the Prudential Committee which Dr. Whitman had received not only recalled Mr. Spalding and wife, but also advised the return of W. H. Gray and wife and the Rev. A. B. Smith and wife, and the closing of the stations at Lapwai and Waiilatpu and the continuance of only one station, that at Chemekane. This station was not far from Fort Colville, was six miles north of the Spokane River and about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Waiilatpu and fully that distance off the main line of emigration then setting toward the Columbia. The Spokane Indians were less intelligent and enterprising than the Cayuse Indians and the Nez Percés,[5] and farming at Chemekane was not so successful on account of the frosts.[6] As Mr. Rogers and Mr. and Mrs. Gray already had resigned and gone to the Willamette, and the Rev. A. B. Smith and wife, both broken in health, had resigned and gone to the Sandwich Islands, the recall of Mr. and Mrs. Spalding would decrease the missionary force by seven. Besides, J. D. Paris and wife and W. G. Rice and wife, who had been sent out by the Board in 1840, had located at the Sandwich Islands. Obeying the orders from the Board would leave only six on the field, namely, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Eells, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Walker, with no prospect of reenforce-

[5] Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 123.

[6] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i. p. 339.

ments. The Mission was facing a crisis. This was Dr. Whitman's chief and sufficient motive for the journey East. Whitman, Spalding, Eells, and Walker met at Waiilatpu September 26, 1842; their dissensions were composed and Dr. Whitman resolved to return to Boston and consult with the Board before closing Mr. Spalding's station. In addition to the missionary motive, Dr. Whitman wished to see the government at Washington and hasten its efforts to preserve the territory to the United States. He wished also, if possible, to secure some American, Christian emigrants for Waiilatpu. These also were worthy and important motives for the journey.

Owing to dissensions, Dr. White's party had broken into two sections. A. L. Lovejoy, who later rose to eminence in Oregon, was with the Hastings section of the party. He was left behind by Hastings to search for a lost companion; and when he reached Waiilatpu Hastings had gone on, so he remained at the Mission for about a month.[7] As the route was clear in Mr. Lovejoy's memory, Dr. Whitman urged him to return East with him; and, after some thought, Mr. Lovejoy consented. October 3, 1842, they mounted horses and with three pack mules and a faithful dog started East. From a human point of view it did not seem possible that the journey could be made during the winter, when there would be little food for the horses and not a house to shelter them for the twenty-five hundred miles, save at the trading posts. But Dr. Whitman felt that God would help them, and they set out bravely on the journey. In eleven days they reached Fort Hall, six hundred miles southeast, although they rested Sunday. Averaging sixty miles a day was proof that

[7] Ibid., vol. i, p. 262, note.

the men realized the danger of the oncoming winter. At Fort Hall, Captain Grant of the Hudson's Bay Company assured them that the Cheyennes and the Pawnees were at war and that it was sure death to cross their country, and that the snow was already falling on the mountains to the south.[8] As both routes seemed thus closed, Captain Grant advised them to return to Waiilatpu or else to stay with him until spring. Dr. Whitman declined his advice and kind offer, but decided to take the old Spanish trail from Fort Hall to Santa Fe instead of crossing the mountains over the South Pass and then going down the trail along the Platte and the Missouri to Saint Louis. They hoped thus to escape hostile Indians; they would be bearing southeast to Santa Fe and thus hoped for warmer weather; and they hoped they could procure guides from point to point. They took their first guide at Fort Hall. They encountered terrible snowstorms in the mountains between Forts Hall and Uinta which caused much loss of time. With a new guide they pushed on to Fort Uncompahgre, where another guide was obtained and they started for Taos, New Mexico. After four or five days of travel they encountered a western blizzard and were forced to stop four days in a cañon, feeding their horses on the bark of the cottonwood trees and sleeping without a tent for shelter. They then attempted to go on, but were driven back by snow and wind and spent three days more in the cañon, making seven days' delay caused by this blizzard. Their next effort to advance was equally dangerous; the landmarks were covered with snow, the guide admitted that he had lost his way, they made but little progress for two or three days, and finally the guide refused to lead in

[8] Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 158.

any further advance. As Lovejoy showed signs of exhaustion from the journey West and the severe trials of the return trip, Dr. Whitman advised him to stop in the cañon for recuperation (?) while he went back with the guide to Fort Uncompahgre. At the Fort Dr. Whitman's imperious will overcame the frightened half-frozen guide's prophecy of sure death, and a second guide started out with Whitman. After seven days of lonely waiting in the cañon, Lovejoy was delighted at Whitman's return with a new guide. As the storm had abated they again set forth, but at a snail's pace on account of the deep snow and the severe cold. They came to Grand River, which, despite its swiftness, was frozen a third of the way over on each side. The new guide despaired and said they could not cross the stream. Dr. Whitman rode his horse out upon the ice and Lovejoy and the Indian prodded the horse with poles and he advanced until the ice broke and horse and rider were plunged into the stream. They were carried down the river, but, breaking the ice with a pole until he came to thick ice, Dr. Whitman succeeded in landing and then in helping the horse out. Lovejoy and the Indian pushed the two pack mules in and then followed themselves; and by divine favor all, including the dog, got over safely. January 12, 1843, was so cold that many people throughout the West perished in the blizzard. The little company was encamped in a mountain cañon. The guide protested against moving, but Dr. Whitman was determined to start. Soon wind and snow blinded them and chilled them to the bone. The animals refused to travel against the storm, and animals and men turned back toward the camp which they had left an hour or two before. But the tracks soon filled with snow so that

they could not tell the direction, and after a short time, men and animals were lost. They huddled together for shelter, and Dr. Whitman, despairing of their lives, dismounted, knelt in the snow, and commended them all to God. While the doctor was praying, the guide noticed one of the pack mules prick up its ears. He stopped the doctor and started the mule forward. The mule moved, at first with hesitation, but presently taking a course down the mountain it led them to the ravine and up to the very embers of the fire which they had left in the morning. Whitman and Lovejoy dismounted and helped down the guide, who was partially frozen. The doctor and Lovejoy were also badly frost-bitten. After waiting several days until the storm had abated they pushed forward again. Their provisions now gave out and they killed the faithful dog, which had stayed the seven lonely days with Lovejoy in the cañon; later they killed one of the mules. (We hope that mule's spirit went to heaven, and the dog's too; and the hope is in line with the teaching of John Wesley, who believed that animals in some higher form will enjoy a future life.)

When they reached Taos they were so frozen and emaciated with hunger that they rested two weeks; the horses were unable to travel farther and they exchanged them for fresh ones. But they had now passed the points of greatest danger and the remainder of the journey promised to be comparatively warm and safe. But, strange to say, between Taos and Bent's Fort, Dr. Whitman came nearest to death.[9] Suddenly learning that a party was leaving

[9] (Note discrepancies in Lovejoy's letter in Clarke and Eells.) Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, pp. 425-427, Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 156-158.

Bent's Fort for Saint Louis in a few days, Dr. Whitman bought the best horse he could procure, and, leaving Lovejoy to come on at a more leisurely pace, he attempted to catch the Bent's Fort party. Thus far the doctor had rested every Sunday and had held morning and evening prayers. But without observing Sunday he now tried to overtake the party. A day or two later Lovejoy started on, and after four days of travel reached Bent's Fort, there to learn with dismay that the party had started on to Saint Louis two days earlier, but that Dr. Whitman had not overtaken them or been seen at all. Sending on a courier to ask the party to wait, Lovejoy started out to search for the lost doctor. On Friday evening the doctor reached the Fort greatly worn out physically, and mentally bewildered. His loss of the trail and his close call to death were attributed by him to the fact that he traveled on Sunday. Joining the party a little later, the journey was made safely to Saint Louis and on to Washington.

History records few more heroic journeys than this ride by Dr. Whitman of about one hundred and fifty days, from Waiilatpu to Washington. Lovejoy was his companion on the dangerous part of the journey, but decided to wait at Bent's Fort until the doctor's return, and they met again at Fort Laramie in the spring of 1843. This ride and the ride which "Squire" Ebberts and Joseph L. Meek made in 1847-48 from Willamette Falls to Washington are the two most heroic horseback journeys in American history.

Many people had decided to go to Oregon in the spring of 1843 through the campaign in favor of Oregon started by Jason Lee during 1838-39, through the distribution

of Congressional documents, the editorials and news items in the newspapers, and especially through the provision in the bills before Congress for the grant of a square mile of land to every man over eighteen years of age who became a settler in Oregon. Dr. Whitman encouraged those proposing emigration and doubtless influenced a few more to start by announcing that he was returning in the spring and would help pilot the company across the plains and mountains.

The Tyler administration in 1843 was hesitating between a compromise with Great Britain and a demand on Mexico for the surrender of the northern portion of California and of Texas, or a demand on Great Britain for the 49th parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. In considering Dr. Whitman's part in this struggle we are face to face with a long and bitter controversy over matters of fact. On the one side it is affirmed that Dr. Whitman on learning that Lord Ashburton had reached Washington for the purpose of making a treaty with our government settling boundaries between Canada and the United States, left Waiilatpu October 3, 1842, making his journey East in the winter time in order that he might influence the action of the United States government in regard to Oregon; that he went direct from Saint Louis to Washington, reaching that city March 3, 1843,[10] that he met Daniel Webster, the secretary of state, President Tyler, and the entire Cabinet;[11] and that as the result of these meetings President Tyler promised to stop negotiations relating to Oregon until Dr. Whitman could

[10] Barrows, Oregon: The Struggle for Possession, pp. 174-177.

[11] Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 160.

demonstrate the feasibility of a wagon road to the Columbia; that Dr. Whitman helped to create and then led in safety the company of over eight hundred emigrants to the Columbia in 1843, and thus contributed more than any other American to secure Oregon to the United States.

On the other side it is pointed out that the Ashburton treaty was signed August 9, 1842, nearly two months before Dr. Whitman left Waiilatpu, and that Lord Ashburton had sailed back to England; that the plain cause of Dr. Whitman's visit to the East was the letter from the American Board brought to Waiilatpu by Dr. White in September, 1842, and the crisis in the affairs of the Mission. The advocates of this view maintain that there was no treaty pending between the United States and Great Britain relating to Oregon in 1843, when Dr. Whitman is said to have visited Washington and called upon Webster, Tyler, and the Cabinet; that the claim of his great services in saving Oregon was never put forward until 1864, twenty-one years after the supposed service was rendered; that those who put it forward have been convicted of numerous mistakes in their statements as to facts of history, and that the whole claim may be justly characterized as the "Whitman Legend." The leaders in supporting Dr. Whitman's claim are Spalding, Barrows, Clarke, Eells, Gray, Lyman, Mowry, and Nixon; the leaders among the opponents are Bancroft, Bourne, Marshall, Evans, Hines, Scott, and Mrs. Victor. The claim was first put forward by H. H. Spalding in 1864. In 1865 the Rev. G. H. Atkinson called the attention of the Rev. S. B. Treat, secretary of the American Board, to Spalding's statement. Mr. Treat expressed doubt as to the reliability of Spalding's statements, but on Dr. Atkinson

asking him to write the Rev. Cushing Eells for confirmation and mentioning the great value of the story for mission purposes, Mr. Treat wrote, and upon Mr. Eells's confirmation, the statement was put forth at the annual meeting of the Board at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1866.[12] The statement produced a profound impression upon the audience and was widely reported in the newspapers. It was stoutly reaffirmed by W. H. Gray, History of Oregon, in 1870, by H. H. Spalding in 1871 (Exec.-Document No. 37, 41st Congress, 3rd Session), by the Rev. Myron Eells in a pamphlet published in 1883 and in one published in 1902 in reply to Professor Bourne, and in his volume on Marcus Whitman, published in 1909.

Originally we accepted the statements made in favor of Dr. Whitman's claim, and our pamphlet, A Romance of Missions, published in 1884, presents his services from this point of view. After reading the volumes upon both sides of the controversy we are constrained to the conviction that while Dr. Whitman rendered real, important, and lasting services to the emigrants who went to Oregon in 1843, and real service to the country, the claims put forth on his behalf were far beyond the facts.

We reverse our early opinion reluctantly and only in the face of what seems to us overwhelming evidence. The early story furnished a remarkable illustration of the influence of a single missionary in helping keep an invaluable territory under the sovereignty of the United States by one of the most heroic rides in history. But that the evidence against the claims of Spalding, Gray, Barrows, Nixon, Mowry, and Eells in behalf of Whitman is con-

[12] Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 202, 203.

vincing to those who look up evidence is shown by the fact that the following writers who originally lent their authority and gave currency to the claim put forth for Dr. Whitman have changed their convictions: Mrs. F. F. Victor gave currency to the story of Dr. Whitman's remarkable achievements in her River of the West, published in 1870, but later openly repudiated the claim in Bancroft's History of Oregon, of which she is largely the author.[13] The Rev. H. K. Hines introduced to the Methodist public the story of Whitman's saving Oregon in an article published in The Ladies' Repository about 1869. Thirty years later in his Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest he no longer supports the claim of Dr. Whitman's services in saving the country, which he had embodied in the early article.[14] William J. Marshall first accepted through Dr. Mowry in 1877 the story of Dr. Whitman's remarkable services to the government. In November, 1884, he gave the first expression to his doubts of Whitman's special services to the nation, and later made the fullest refutation yet published of these claims in the two volumes entitled The Acquisition of Oregon, published in 1911. In addition the following authors of textbooks on the history of the United States who had set forth the services of Dr. Whitman to our government have accepted the conclusions of Bourne and Marshall and have announced their purpose to omit or revise their accounts of Dr. Whitman's services to the nation: J. B. McMaster, H. E. Scudder, D. H. Montgomery, W. F. Gordy, A. F.

[13] Bourne, Essays in Historical Criticism, p. 36 (see also pp. 23, 25).

[14] Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 464-474.

Blaisdell, Mrs. A. H. Burton, and John Fiske.[15] Mr. Fiske in his centennial oration on Astoria, Oregon, embodied the story of Dr. Whitman's remarkable services to the country. But after Professor Bourne's publication of the Legend of Marcus Whitman in the American Historical Review, January, 1901, Fiske wrote him: "You have entirely demolished the Whitman delusion. . . . I am sorry to say that I was taken in by Barrows and Gray."[16] Here are the names of ten writers who at first accepted the story of Dr. Whitman's services to our government in saving Oregon to the United States, each one of whom now repudiates that claim. On the other hand we do not know a single recognized historian who has been led by the sifting of evidence to accept the claims put forth by H. H. Spalding and maintained by Dr. Eells.

But as Dr. Eells does not accept the verdict of these historians, an examination of his views becomes necessary. An analysis of all the facts and an examination of the theories advanced to explain the facts forces us to the conclusion that Whitman's visit to Washington in the winter or spring of 1843 had no decisive influence upon the administration, though we think it had an influence in shaping public opinion in the presidential election of 1844.

The advocates of Dr. Whitman ask why he took the great risk and passed through the great hardships of the winter journey if his only or chief aim in going East was to save the Mission, whereas on their theory that it was essential for him to reach Washington before the adjournment of Congress March 3, 1843, there is ample ground

[15] Bourne, Essays in Historical Criticism, p. 51, note.

[16] Ibid., p. 51, note.

for the risk and the hardships. The reply is twofold: First, we have the definite reason for the immediate start given by Mrs. Whitman in her letter of September 30, 1843, written at the time when the facts and reasons were clearly in mind and also written when there was no dream of controversy. When Dr. Whitman decided to go East two courses were open to him. As it was the last of September, he could remain at Waiilatpu until the spring and make the journey in the spring and summer of 1843. But in that case he could not return in 1843, for he could not cross the continent and return during a single summer. On the other hand, he could start East immediately and by reaching Saint Louis in December he could go on to Boston and Washington in the winter, and start back in May and reach his family and work by the fall of 1843. If he started East about October 1, he would be absent from his home and his work only a year and would resume the work, with reenforcements as he hoped, in the fall of 1843. If he started in the spring of 1843, he could not get to work on the new basis before the fall of 1844. Anyone who has studied Dr. Whitman's character knows that he was of the Roosevelt type—quick to reach a decision, full of courage, and energetic in action. With this situation before us, read this sentence in Mrs. Whitman's letter to her parents, written September 30, 1842, and sent by her husband: "He wishes to cross the mountains during this month, I mean October, and to reach Saint Louis about the first of December."[17] Here is Dr. Whitman's program stated by his wife four days before he started. Had they followed the northern trail, as they

[17] Ibid., p. 98, note.

expected to do when they started, and rested on Sundays, they had forty days of travel to December 1. By exchanging horses at two or three of the posts and averaging forty miles a day they could have reached Saint Louis by December 1, which was the time fixed in Dr. Whitman's program, as stated by Mrs. Whitman. In view of these considerations Mrs. Whitman's statement of his plans written only four days before he started answers the question as to why Dr. Whitman started East as late as October. It was the report of James Grant, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall, that on account of the bitter war between the Indians the northern route was impossible which led Whitman to choose the southern route diagonally through the mountains instead of crossing them at South Pass. This change of route, the lack of knowledge of the new route, together with the exceptionally severe winter, delayed their arrival at Westport, Missouri, until February, 1843.[18] Here, then, is the clear and decisive reason why Dr. Whitman started East October 3, 1842, instead of waiting until the spring of 1843.

That there was another reason for Dr. Whitman's haste in his desire to reach Washington before the adjournment of Congress March 3, 1843, is a matter of controversy. The statement originally made by Dr. Barrows that Dr. Whitman reached Washington before the adjournment of Congress on March 3 is no longer maintained by Eells in his latest volume, Marcus Whitman (1909). We think it would be to the advantage of the claim that Dr. Whitman exercised a decisive influence upon President Tyler if we could place his visit to Washington as late as May, 1843,

[18] Bourne, Essays in Historical Criticism, p. 86.

as we shall show a little later. But let us first analyze the claim still maintained by Dr. Myron Eells in his volume on Dr. Whitman that the doctor was instrumental in changing the plan of Webster and President Tyler in regard to the boundary line between the United States and Canada.

Dr. Eells, in the latest, most elaborate, and ablest defense of the view that Dr. Whitman secured to the United States at least the territory lying between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel, says: "Soon after the Ashburton treaty was signed in August, 1842, Lord Aberdeen had, through H. S. Fox, the British minister at Washington, consulted with Secretary Webster about resuming negotiations on the Oregon question. This was October 18, 1842. On November 25, following, Mr. Webster had replied, saying that President Tyler concurred in the suggestion and would make a communication to our minister in England at no distant day. The next letter extant, however, is dated nearly a year later—October 9, 1843. Then Hon. A. P. Upshur, who had succeeded Mr. Webster as secretary of state, wrote Edward Everett, our minister in London saying: 'The offer of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, although it has been once rejected, may be again tendered, together with the right of navigating the Columbia River upon equitable terms: beyond this, the President is not prepared to go.' Why was this delay of nearly a year? It certainly gave time for the President to know practically that the immigration which Dr. Whitman had promised to lead through was a large one, and so that Oregon could be peopled overland from the United States. If this is not so, can anyone answer the question, Why, when the President had said he would make the

Oregon question the subject of *immediate attention,* and promised that at *no distant day,* a communication would be sent on the subject, none is now on record for nearly a whole year?"[19] Hence Dr. Eells says in the conclusion of his pamphlet: "Just how much of Oregon was saved, the writer has never decided, but for nearly twenty years has stated, 'The whole or a part of it.' The papers found in regard to the trade for California and Webster's statement point to that part north of the Columbia River. But the statement of Sir Robert Peel, Dr. Whitman's letters, and the ideas of Judge Strong and some other western statesmen point to all of the then Oregon."[20]

Why do we not accept Dr. Eells's view? Simply because Dr. Eells is entirely mistaken as to the facts. Webster, indeed, promised the British minister on November 25 that the President would make a communication to our minister in London at no distant date. Dr. Eells says, "The next letter extant, however, is dated nearly a year later, October 9, 1843." The facts show that so far from delaying a year through Dr. Whitman's influence or any other influence, on November 28, 1842—only three days after Mr. Webster promised that the President would communicate with our minister in London—Mr. Webster sent Mr. Everett the promised communication upon the subject of Oregon.[21] This indisputable letter of Mr. Webster's entirely disposes of Dr. Eells's hypothesis that after Webster promised *immediate attention* and a communication at *no distant date,* the President was induced by Dr.

[19] Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 197.

[20] Eells, A Reply to Professor Bourne's "The Whitman Legend," pp. 119, 120.

[21] Webster, Private Correspondence, vol. ii, pp. 153-154.

Whitman to delay the reply for nearly a whole year in order to learn before answering of the success or failure of Dr. Whitman's effort to lead emigrants to Oregon.

Again on January 1, 1843, Webster approached General Almonte, the Mexican minister to the United States, on a tripartite solution of the boundary line between Great Britain, Mexico, and the United States.[22] Mr. Webster approached General Almonte a second time about April 1, urging his acceptance for Mexico of this solution of the boundary lines between the three governments.[23] Dr. Eells no longer insists upon the statement of Barrows that Dr. Whitman reached Washington before Congress adjourned March 3, 1843, but simply that he reached Washington some time during March. This is also the view of Bourne; but in this case the fact that Webster is still pushing for the settlement the first days in April and along compromise lines which yielded to Great Britain all north and west of the Columbia River shows that President Tyler is not in the least observing any supposed promise made to Dr. Whitman in March to postpone further consideration of the question until Whitman can lead a great migration across the plains and mountains and demonstrate the practicability of the wagon road to the Columbia. Mr. Webster resigns his position as secretary of state on May 8, 1843, and the President asks Attorney-General Legaré to assume the portfolio until he can select another secretary of state. But President Tyler does not even wait until he can select a successor to Webster, but on May 16, 1843, he asks Legaré to resume negotiations over the Ore-

[22] Adams, Memoirs, vol. xi, p. 340 (see also Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, vol. ii, pp. 260, 261).

[23] Adams, Memoirs, vol. xi, pp. 351-355.

gon boundary.[24] It is not only the entire absence in all the printed documents of 1843, of any reference to Dr. Whitman's visit, the entire absence of a line of evidence that President Tyler made any promise to Dr. Whitman to postpone negotiations until he could learn of the outcome of Whitman's proposal, but it is the positive, written, contemporary evidence that the government was carrying on negotiations over the Oregon boundary, and that Tyler and Webster after the time assigned by all of Whitman's friends for his visit to Washington were trying to secure a compromise in direct conflict with Whitman's views that discredits the contention of Barrows, Nixon, Gray, Mowry, and Eells, of Whitman's influence over the Tyler administration in the spring of 1843.

[24] Bourne, Essays in Historical Criticism, p. 83, note (see also Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, vol. iii, p. 111).

CHAPTER XV

MARCUS WHITMAN
(Concluded)

What service did Dr. Whitman render to the government and the people of the United States by his trip to the East in the winter of 1842-43?

If we turn from speculation to Whitman's correspondence, we get authoritative statements from his own pen as to the services he rendered by his trip:

1. In a letter to the American Board dated Waiilatpu, November 1, 1843, he says, "If I never do more than to have been one of the first to take white women across the mountains and prevent the disorder and inaction which would have occurred by the breaking up of the present emigration, and establishing the first wagon road across the border to the Columbia River, I am satisfied."[1] Dr. Whitman thus sums up his services to the country in three items, neither of which has the slightest connection with the great service assigned to him by Barrows, Eells, and others.

2. In a letter to the Hon. James M. Porter, secretary of war, received at the War Department June 22, 1844, Dr. Whitman narrates the complete success of his trip West and dwells upon his service in piloting the emigrants

[1] Bourne, Essays in Historical Criticism, p. 91.

to Oregon, incloses a bill for Secretary Porter to put before Congress, but makes no reference whatever to any agreement with the President and the Cabinet to the effect that the President was to delay signing a treaty relating to the Oregon boundary until Dr. Whitman could report whether or not he had discovered a wagon road to Oregon. This testimony is negative, but as Porter was a member of the Cabinet, failure to refer to an agreement with the Cabinet which would have been well known to them both is practically decisive against the existence of any such agreement.[2]

3. In a letter to the Rev. L. P. Judson, written November 5, 1846, a trifle over three years after Whitman returned to Oregon,[3] Dr. Whitman says: "I had adopted Oregon as my country, as well as the Indians for my field of labor, so that I must superintend the emigration of that year [1843], which was to lay the foundation for the speedy settlement of the country if prosperously conducted and safely carried through; but if it failed and became disastrous, the reflex influence would be to discourage for a long time any further attempt to settle the country across the mountains, which would be to see it abandoned altogether. . . . I have returned to my field of labor, and on my return brought a large immigration of about a thousand individuals safely through the long, and the last part of it an untried, route to the western shores of the continent. . . . It is quite important that such a country as Oregon should not on one hand fall into the exclusive hands of the Jesuits, nor on the other

[2] Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 336-343.

[3] See Transactions Oregon Pioneer Associations, 1893, p. 200.

under the English government."[4] Here is the statement made by Dr. Whitman himself of the services which he rendered the government in 1843. In this statement he lays the whole emphasis upon his guidance of the emigrants of 1843 to Oregon; he does not mention any agreement with the President to be guided in signing or not signing some supposed treaty by the success or failure of this expedition.

4. If Dr. Whitman had a secret agreement with our government affecting international affairs, prudence would have prevented the publication of the fact until after the treaty was signed, though in this case he could safely have mentioned the fact to his Board and especially to Secretary Porter, who was supposed to be a partner to the agreement. But in Dr. Whitman's letter of April 1, 1847, to the American Board, which reveals his knowledge that the treaty had been signed and Oregon secured to the United States, he again fails to refer to any agreement with President Tyler. In this letter, in which Dr. Whitman tried to justify to the Board his trip East, it seems to us incredible, had he been able to secure any agreement with the President and the Cabinet by which they made a treaty relating to Oregon dependent on his success in leading a band of emigrants across the mountains, and had he, as he claims in the letter, successfully led such a band to Oregon, that he should have failed to mention this greatest single service any citizen of Oregon could have rendered the United States. But the letter of April 1, 1847, simply reiterates and emphasizes the fact that his service consisted in guiding safely to Oregon the emigra-

[4] Quoted by Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 182-183.

tion of 1843. It says: "I often reflect on the fact that you told me you were sorry I came East. It did not then, nor has it since, altered my opinion in the matter. American interests, acquired in the country, which the success of the immigration of 1843 alone did and could have secured, have become the foundation of the late treaty between England and the United States in regard to Oregon, for it may be easily seen what would have become of American interests had the immigration of 1843 been as disastrous as have been the two attempts in 1845 and 1846 to alter the route then followed. The disaster was great again last year to those who left the track which I made for them in 1843, as it has been on every attempt to improve it, not that it cannot be improved, but it demonstrates what I did in making my way to the States in the winter of 1842-43, after the third of October. . . . Anyone can see that American interests as now acquired have had more to do in securing the treaty than our original rights. From 1835 till now it has been apparent that there was a choice of only two things: (1) The increase of British interests to the exclusion of all other rights in the country, or (2) the establishment of American interests by citizens."[5] This elaborate defense of his action makes no reference to any agreement with Tyler and his Cabinet, but holds that the treaty of Polk in 1846 securing the Puget Sound region was due to his service in guiding the emigrants to Oregon in 1843.

5. A final letter by Dr. Whitman defending his return to the States is addressed to the American Board and is dated October 18, 1847, about six weeks before his death.

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[5] Quoted by Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 183.

In it he makes no reference to any agreement with President Tyler. He says: "Two things, and it is true those which were the most important, were accomplished by my return to the States. By means of the establishment of the wagon road, which is due to that effort alone, the emigration was secured and saved from disaster in the fall of 1843. Upon that event the present acquired rights of the United States by her citizens hung. And not less certain is it that upon the results of emigration to this country, the present existence of this Mission and of Protestanism hung also."[6] In this letter Whitman mentions the two most important services accomplished by his return to the States: the establishment of the wagon road and the preservation of the emigrants of 1843 from disaster. Upon these two services he claims hung two important results: the securing of the country to the United States and the preservation of the American Board Mission and of Protestantism upon the Pacific Coast. We thus have clear, straightforward statements by Dr. Whitman in five letters dating from a few weeks after his return to Oregon to within six weeks of his death showing what he regarded as his great service to the United States government and people. Dr. Whitman's statements in these five letters do not furnish the slightest support to Dr. Eells's view that Dr. Whitman had an agreement with President Tyler and the Cabinet by which Tyler was not to sign a treaty sacrificing any portion of Oregon until he could hear of the success or failure of Dr. Whitman's effort to guide a party to Oregon. The absence of all testimony by Whitman in the five statements of his serv-

[6] Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 231.

ices as to this agreement with the President is to us conclusive evidence that no such agreement existed. Dr. Whitman's services were considerable; they consisted in the encouragement, warning, medical aid, help, and guidance furnished to the largest body of emigrants which up to that time ever started for Oregon, and they consisted further in a clearer demonstration than ever before that a national highway for wagons was feasible from Saint Louis to the Pacific Coast. Here, then, in an authoritative form is Dr. Whitman's definition of his services.

We must not press even these two claims too far. Dr. Whitman did not create the emigration of 1843. Bancroft says: "The discussions in Congress and the popularity of Linn's bill, with the missionary efforts herein narrated, resulted in a pronounced emigration movement. It began in 1842, when a hundred persons followed Elijah White westward."[7] Bancroft connects Jason Lee, not Dr. Whitman, with the Linn bill and the Congressional documents whose circulation started the emigration of 1843. Dr. Eells thinks that Dr. Whitman may have induced one third or two fifths of the emigrants of 1843 to start to Oregon. Owing to the fact that Dr. Whitman reached Saint Louis only three months before the emigrants started on their journey, and owing to the slowness with which any message from him could have reached these emigrants scattered through four or five States, and owing to the slowness with which farmers were able to sell their land, collect their money, and make arrangements for the journey, Bancroft's view that the emigration of 1843 was largely the result of the earlier agitation

[7] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 391.

is far better founded than Dr. Eells's view. Nevertheless, it is entirely reasonable that some hesitating families were encouraged to enter upon the journey by hearing of Whitman's arrival and of his proposal to guide a band of emigrants back to Oregon in the spring of 1843.

Again, we must make Dr. Whitman's claim to the guidance of the company on the long journey a modest one. Bancroft shows that on May 20, 1843, twelve miles west of Independence, Missouri, the emigrant body adopted the usual rules for parties crossing the plains and elected Peter H. Burnett captain, and J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant, and nine others as councilmen to assist in settling questions, and employed Captain John Gantt, a former army officer, now a "mountain man," as official guide to Fort Hall.[8] Clearly, Captain Gantt, not Dr. Whitman, was the guide from Independence to Fort Hall. As the company embraced men who later became leaders of the State, Burnett becoming a judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon and later governor of California, and Nesmith becoming a United States senator from Oregon, and Jesse Applegate, who later led one division of the emigrant band, becoming a prominent citizen of Oregon, it is very probable that these men under the guidance of Captain Gantt, who had frequently made the journey, would have reached Fort Hall in safety had not Dr. Whitman been with them. Captain Burnett resigned at the end of eight days because the large company failed to observe his regulations. Bancroft states that the resignation evidently produced an effect upon the company, because William Martin, who was chosen in Captain Burnett's place, held the com-

[8] Ibid., vol. i, p. 395.

mand for the remainder of the journey. But it is significant that after Burnett resigned, William Martin, not Dr. Whitman, was elected captain. It shows that the company was not relying upon Dr. Whitman for leadership. The size of this body of emigrants making any Indian attack extremely hazardous for the Indians, and the fact that Captain Bennett Riley with his artillery had severely chastised the Indians a few years before and frightened with his cannon even more than he had hurt them, preserved the company from serious danger of Indian attacks during the journey.

Remeau, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's guides, met the band of emigrants at Fort Hall, where Captain Gantt's term of service expired, and offered his services for the remainder of the journey. Dr. Whitman expressed the judgment that with his Cayuse Indians who had just come over the trail and met him at the Fort, and with his own recollections of the trail which he had traversed the previous October, he could guide them without charge the rest of the way in safety; hence the councilmen did not think it necessary for the party to take the extra expense of Remeau as a guide. Remeau knew the trail far better than did Dr. Whitman; and he showed his fine character by sitting down with Dr. Whitman, after the emigrants decided not to employ him, and working out the entire course from Fort Hall to Dr. Whitman's home; he indicated each camping place, the distance between camps and each difficult portion of the road. With Dr. Whitman's recollection of the route from his journey of the preceding October, and with Remeau's sketch of the route, Dr. Whitman safely guided the emigrants from Fort Hall as far as Grande Ronde River, that is, about

three hundred miles. At this station other Indians from Spalding's station met him with a letter informing him of the illness of Mr. and Mrs. Spalding; and from Grande Ronde Dr. Whitman hurried on, and the company was guided safely by Sticcas, a converted Indian chief who had the full confidence of Dr. Whitman. With Remeau—one of the best guides of the Hudson's Bay Company—at Fort Hall to guide them, it is practically certain that the company would have come through safely had not Dr. Whitman been with them. Nevertheless, it was with Dr. Whitman's presence, advice, and encouragement all the way, and his guidance from Fort Hall to Grande Ronde that the company safely made the journey. They had started a little late and Dr. Whitman's unceasing exhortation was, *"Travel, travel, travel."*[9] The snow began to fall upon the mountains by the time they reached the Grande Ronde Valley; and the missing of the trail at any part of the journey, or even delay in following the trail, would probably have been attended with serious consequences. It is easy to say and it is probably correct that the Federalist would have been written had Madison not been able to contribute a single article, but such a consideration will not rob Madison of his share of the fame for that remarkable interpretation of our constitution. So, while it is probable that this company of strong Americans, under such leaders as Burnett and Nesmith and the regular guides, would have reached their destination in safety, we ought not to rob Dr. Whitman of his share in encouraging and inspiring the eight hundred emigrants in making the remarkable journey of 1843.

[9] Jesse Applegate, A Day with the Cow Column, quoted by Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, vol. ii, p. 55.

We think that Dr. Whitman also deserves credit for inducing the emigrants to take their wagons to Oregon. At this point he claimed too much for himself. In the spring of 1830 wagons were first used instead of pack animals on the northern route. They had been used long before that date on the Santa Fe trail. These northern wagons followed what was known as the Oregon trail and went as far as Wind River, Wyoming, before Dr. Whitman made his first journey.[10] Wagons also had been taken from Wind River on to Fort Hall, Idaho. Dr. Whitman was the first man to take a wagon from Fort Hall on to Fort Boise, Idaho. It must also be borne in mind that in 1840 three Americans, Robert Newell, Joseph L. Meek, and one other man, had taken three wagons belonging to Newell all the way from Saint Louis to Walla Walla, a few miles beyond Dr. Whitman's home at Waiilatpu. This was three years before Dr. Whitman induced the emigrants to take their wagons on to Waiilatpu. So far from Dr. Whitman being the first man to take a wagon across the continent, he was the first man to take a wagon from Fort Hall to Fort Boise—less than a tenth of the distance from Saint Louis to the Pacific, and by no means the worst part of the journey. Moreover, the Hudson's Bay Company's guide, Remeau, joined Dr. Whitman in advising the emigrants to take their wagons with them. Again, in the company was William Fowler, who had made the journey before and who, according to Jesse Applegate, had a better knowledge of what ox-teams could do with wagons than had Dr. Whitman.[11] Worse still, on reaching Waiilatpu, Dr. Whitman advised the company to leave

[10] Leonard, Narrative, p. 27.

[11] Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. i, p. 399.

their wagons and cattle in the Walla Walla Valley for the winter and that a few men return and take them down in the spring. Dr. Whitman told them that the Indians had burned off the grass and that the cattle would perish if they attempted to take them through that autumn. But Dr. Whitman's advice proved harmful and almost dangerous. Part of the emigrants left their cattle, and one or two groups of them were delayed on the journey and nearly perished from hunger[12]—a condition which would have been avoided had they taken their cattle with them. On the other hand, those who took their cattle, found abundance of grass.[13] But the fact remains that it was Dr. Whitman's advice and encouragement which more than any other single influence led these eight hundred emigrants to take their wagons from Fort Hall to Waiilatpu.

In addition to these two services, can Dr. Whitman be credited with any further service to the government? Dr. Whitman's letter addressed to the Hon. James M. Porter, the secretary of war, received at the War Department June 22, 1844, and now on file there, opens with the sentence, "In compliance with the request you did me the honor to make last winter while at Washington, I herewith transmit the synopsis of a bill, . . . " etc. This proves conclusively that Dr. Whitman visited Washington. It is certain that this visit did not affect the Ashburton treaty, which was signed before he left Waiilatpu.

We have already pointed out in Chapter VI, on "The United States Government," that President Tyler from the time of Lord Ashburton's visit to Washington in 1842

[12] Ibid., vol. i, p. 410.

[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 405.

down to May 16, 1843, was busy carrying through a disgraceful plot by which the United States and Great Britain were to rob Mexico of the northern portion of her territory. If, therefore, Whitman's visit to Washington had taken place during the latter half of May or any time before October 9, 1843, the date of Secretary Upshur's letter to our minister in London stating that the President would not yield any territory below the 49th parallel, we might possibly attribute the final abandonment of the compromise plans to Whitman's influence over Tyler. But Perrin B. Whitman says that his uncle, Marcus Whitman, bade goodby to his mother and left Middlesex, New York, for Oregon April 20, 1843. Besides, Dr. Whitman, in his letter to the secretary of war, received at the War Department June 22, 1844, speaks of his visit to the secretary "last winter." All the facts constrain us to put this visit in March. It is simply impossible, therefore, to make Dr. Whitman's visit the decisive factor in determining Tyler's change of policy, since the efforts to compromise by the surrender of the territory to Great Britain continued for two months after Whitman's visit. Moreover, Dunning and Garrison both assure us that Tyler's change of policy was due to information furnished him in the summer of 1843 by a secret agent whom he had sent to Great Britain to the effect that Great Britain was attempting by the offer of a liberal loan to induce Texas to abolish slavery; and that it was Tyler's anger over the supposed meddling of Great Britain with slavery in Texas which led to his abandonment of compromise in the letter of October and the message of December, 1843.

We have tried to state clearly and fairly all the facts on both sides, and our readers can form their own judg-

ment. Our own conviction is as follows: First, Dr. Whitman is entitled to great credit for inspiring, encouraging, helping to guide, and furnishing medical aid to the great company of over eight hundred emigrants who went to Oregon in 1843; second, to Dr. Whitman more than to any other man belongs the credit of inducing the eight hundred emigrants to take their wagons to Oregon. When the eight hundred settlers wrote back to friends in all parts of the United States that they had taken their wagons through, the government and the people knew that a wagon road from the Mississippi to Oregon was practicable; third, Dr. Whitman's visit to Washington was not the decisive influence which led President Tyler to change his policy, and turned that compromiser into a braggart and a bluffer; it would not add to Dr. Whitman's fame to even share in producing this political tergiversation. But it is correct to credit the emigration to Oregon in 1843 with considerable influence in the interjection of the Oregon issue into the campaign of 1844, and the carrying of the election at least partly upon that issue. Fourth, and above all, it must be said of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, that their power of initiative made them leaders among their Indian wards; that in addition to teaching the Indians by precept and example the arts of farming, housekeeping, milling, etc., their kindness of heart turned their station into a school, a hospital, and an orphanage. Finally, it must be added that the martyrdom at Waiilatpu November 29, 1847, of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman gave the last, full proof of their devotion to their country and their church, to the Indians whom they loved, and the Master whom they followed, and placed their names high on the roll of Christendom.

CHAPTER XVI

RÉSUMÉ

Our aim throughout the book has been to portray the actions which determined how the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, lying between Russia on the north and Mexico on the south, was divided between the United States and Great Britain. We have tried to point out the work of the leading factors in determining that division. For the sake of a deeper and clearer general impression, let us now summarize our work.

1. The American Indians

One afternoon in the winter of 1831-32 three Nez Percés and one Flathead Indian appeared upon the streets of Saint Louis with a request which no white men had ever heard before. They came, they said, from the land of the setting sun. They had heard of the white man's God. They wanted the white man's Book of Heaven.

General William Clark, then in command of the military post of Saint Louis, had met similar tribes in his famous journey to the Columbia River with Captain Meriwether Lewis in 1804-06. A kind-hearted Christian man, he tried to tell the Indians the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church necessary to salvation; but he did not deem it wise to give them the Bible.

Two of the four Indians died from the hardships of the journey and the other two, homesick and disappointed, prepared to return. General Clark made them a banquet and bade them Godspeed. Hee-oh-ks-te-kin, a Nez Percé, replied in a speech, which made a deep impression. The genuineness of the published speech has been a subject of much controversy. We have no data which contradict Rev. H. H. Spalding's claim that the speech is genuine. But the late date of its publication—1865—together with the many inaccuracies in Mr. Spalding's narrative of the Whitman massacre, throw doubt upon this claim. Upon the other side the brevity and style of the speech suggest its Indian origin. If genuine it is the highest example of Indian oratory, as Lincoln's Gettysburg speech is the highest example of American eloquence. It deserves to rank with Jeremiah's Lamentations in its longing for the knowledge of the eternal world.

"We came to you over a trail of many moons from the Setting Sun. You were the friend of our fathers who have all gone the long way. We came with one eye partly opened for more light for our people who sit in darkness. We go back with both eyes closed. How can we go back blind to our blind people? We made our way to you with strong arms through many enemies that we might carry back much to them. We go back with both arms empty and broken.

"Two fathers came with us. They were the braves of many winters and wars. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. We leave them asleep by your great water and wigwam.

"Our people sent us to get the white man's Book of Heaven. You took us where you worship the Great Spirit

with candles, but the Book was not there. You showed us images of the Good Spirit and pictures of the land beyond, but the Book was not among them to tell us the way. We are going back the long, sad trail to our people of the dark land. You make our feet heavy with gifts and our moccasins will grow old carrying them. But the Book is not among them. When, after one more snow we tell our poor, blind people in the Big Council that we did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or our young braves. One by one, they will rise up and go in silence. Our people will die in darkness and they will go on the long journey to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book to the way plain. I have no more words."

But while the Indians apparently failed, the journey was not in vain. William Walker, Jr., a Methodist half-breed of the Wyandot tribe, was sent by our government from Upper Sandusky to Saint Louis to arrange for the transfer of the Wyandots to a reservation farther west. General Clark told Walker of the strange request of the Indians and introduced him to them. Walker sent a letter East which was published in the New York Christian Advocate and Journal. This awakened the Methodist Church and led to the first mission to the Oregon Indians. Moreover, the conversion of many Wyandots and the deep need of this and other tribes led to the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church which raised and spent $200,000 in the evangelization of the Oregon Indians. The account of this strange journey by the Indians also led the American Board, then representing the Congregational, the Dutch

Reformed, and the Presbyterian Churches, to send out Marcus Whitman, Samuel Parker, and H. H. Spalding—one by each denomination—who rendered providential service to the Indians and to the United States government in securing Oregon. Under the divine providence, the American Indians inspired the founding of the Oregon Missions.

2. Hudson's Bay Company and Great Britain

Impartial history will not fail to recognize the far-seeing and heroic efforts which the Hudson's Bay Company, the British government, and above all, Dr. McLoughlin put forth in the early discovery and control of the Oregon Country. Our record also shows that the Hudson's Bay Company built eleven forts and trading posts in what is now American territory and exercised authority over the British, the Indians, and occasionally the Americans, over the entire Pacific Coast from the Russian possessions to California—then the northern province of Mexico. We have written in vain, if our narrative has failed to show the firmness, promptness, financial ability, and Christian spirit of Dr. McLoughlin, who ruled a country second in size to Russia alone among the compact organizations of the world; secured immense profits for his Company, a just and rich portion of the vast territory for Great Britain, and who led her without a war to make the inevitable surrender of the larger and richer portion of the country to the United States. We accept Lyman's estimate of the wisdom of McLoughlin's administration: "It may be said too that he gave to America all she could have gained by war, and that he saved England all that could have been saved by war."

"He ruled for twenty years a country as large as Charlemagne's as absolutely and as worthily as Charlemagne."[1]

3. The Roman Catholic Missionaries

No one can read the story of Fathers Brebeuf, Chaumonot, Garnier and Jogues, of Hennepin and Marquette, of Blanchet and Demers, without recognizing that the Roman Catholic missionaries in Canada, in the Mississippi Valley, and on the Pacific Coast equaled and often excelled in heroism and untiring efforts the pioneers, hunters, and Protestant missionaries. Most of the Catholic missionaries came from France; and the French names, Champlain, Superior, Prairie du Chien, Saint Louis, Vincennes, and New Orleans, are the imperishable records of their journeys and their labors. The escape from capture of Marie Baptiste and her two-months journey alone and that of another Algonquin woman[2] equal the stories of Mrs. Chaboneau and Mrs. Dorion, and show equally fine material for Christian missions among the Indians whom the Roman Catholics reached. But the slaughter of the Iroquois by their savage neighbors, the fact that an overwhelming majority of the converts among the Catholic as among the Protestant missionaries accepted Christianity as a magic power to deliver them from hunger and dangers and abandoned it when they discovered that it did not furnish miraculous relief, above all the disappearance of the Indians as a whole, left the Roman Catholic missionaries in the larger portion of the United States only a

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[1] Lyman, History of Oregon, vol. ii, pp. 354, 355.

[2] Parkman, The Jesuits of North America, pp. 405-414.

few French names as the evidence of their influence upon the civilization of the country. The Roman Catholic Church worked longer and more continuously in behalf of the Indians, she brought a larger number of missionaries to the field, and she made conditions of church membership more acceptable to the Indians than did the Protestants; consequently she has enrolled a larger number of converts. But because the Roman Catholic missionaries chiefly came from France, or from French-Canada, and represented a foreign nation and an autocratic form of civil and religious life, they contributed almost nothing to the shaping of the civilization which now prevails throughout the continent. Francis Parkman thus sums up their work in one section of the country, and his judgment applies equally to the whole of the United States: "The Jesuits saw their hopes struck down; and their faith, though not shaken, was sorely tried. The providence of God seemed in their eyes dark and inexplicable; but from the standpoint of liberty, that providence was as clear as the sun at noon. Meanwhile let those who have prevailed yield due honor to the defeated. Their virtues shine amidst the rubbish of error like diamonds and gold in the gravel of the torrent."[3]

4. The United States

During the first forty years of our republic our peoples did not realize that the Japanese Current raises the temperature of Oregon and Washington as the Gulf Stream raises the temperature of England and Ireland. The founders of the republic deemed the Oregon Country a

[3] Ibid., pp. 552-555.

mountainous waste with cold and inhospitable shores. They believed that the Rocky Mountains presented an impassable barrier to the further progress of western migration. They regarded even the country west of the Mississippi as largely composed of the Great American Desert. Moreover, our fathers believed that the republic would fall to pieces of its own weight if they attempted to extend it across the continent, with such widely separated peoples and such diverse interests. On account of these conditions American statesmen were in serious danger at first of losing the Oregon Country. But despite these apparently insuperable obstacles to the possession of a fair share of the Oregon Country by the United States, careful search of the records has shown that a few congressmen and senators and at least four Presidents—Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, and Polk—put forth statesmanlike efforts to make secure American rights in the country, and that in the end the United States succeeded in her purpose.

5. The Oregon Pioneers

The United States owes a very large debt of gratitude to Captain Gray and John Jacob Astor and N. J. Wyeth, to Kelley, Gale, Ebberts, Meek, and Thornton, and to Christian pioneers of the type of Hall, Royal, Whitcomb, Gray, Shortess, Babcock, and Abernethy, whose services and sacrifices helped the nation to secure her magnificent position upon Puget Sound and to lay the foundations for that influence upon the Pacific Basin which America will exercise for all time to come. That American civilization is as promising as it is on the Pacific Coast is due to the silent labors and sufferings of heroic men and

women who lived unheralded lives and rest in unvisited tombs.

6. Marcus Whitman

We are sorry that facts which can no longer be set aside compel the rejection of what now seem to be partisan claims in behalf of Dr. Whitman, and to a lower estimate of Dr. Whitman's services to the nation than we held for many years. But a survey of all of the facts leads to an even higher estimate of heroism and unselfish devotion to the Indians and to the Kingdom upon the part of both Dr. and Mrs. Whitman than we had formerly realized.

After long investigation we are clear that Dr. Whitman did not lead our government to modify her treaty with Great Britain and thus secure for us the Puget Sound region, and in this judgment we are following the overwhelming majority of American historians. Dr. Whitman did not induce any considerable number of the eight hundred emigrants who went to Oregon in 1843 to start upon that journey, and he was their official guide during only a small portion of the way. But Dr. Whitman, with A. L. Lovejoy, did make, during the winter of 1842-43, one of the most heroic journeys recorded in history; he did visit Washington and confer with Webster and President Tyler, and he possibly exercised a slight influence upon the administration; he did encourage some citizens to start on the famous journey to Oregon, and he accompanied that famous band of emigrants, ministering to the sick, encouraging the down-hearted and inspiring the farmers to take their wagons through the mountains. He did hasten their journey, and the largest band of American

emigrants which down to that time had ever crossed the Rocky Mountains made the journey to the Pacific Coast in safety. Not Dr. Whitman but this great migration of settlers by sheer weight of numbers insured the continuance of the provisional government. Moreover, the success of this great migration to Oregon deepened interest in the Oregon problem, helped to shape the Democratic platform of 1844 and to carry the election on a platform which secured the 49th parallel as a boundary line to the Pacific Ocean. But Dr. and Mrs. Whitman did lead in the introduction of education, modern medicine, farming, and Christian civilization into that vast inland region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast, ministered to thousands of roaming Indians in the gospel and in applied Christianity, and sealed their ministry by death as the first Christian martyrs west of the Rocky Mountains. No exaggerated claims are needed to place Marcus and Priscilla Whitman's names on the martyr roll of Christendom.

7. Jason Lee

In regard to the work of Methodists in the Indian Missions, the record shows that the Wyandot Indians were the occasion leading to the organization of the greatest society in Methodism, now represented by the Board of Home and the Board of Foreign Missions; that Jason Lee met President Andrew Jackson and secured the indorsement of the President, the secretary of state and the secretary of war for the founding of our Mission in Oregon; that the Methodist Mission was the earliest mission, Protestant or Roman Catholic, organized in Oregon, and that Jason Lee preached the first Protestant sermon,

baptized and received into the church the first Protestant converts on the Pacific Coast; that he was in touch with the heads of the United States government in 1833, 1838, 1839, and 1840; that the Methodists drafted the first three petitions to our government to extend its authority over Oregon; that some nine of the twenty-six measures which the government inaugurated, including four of the nine bills introduced into Congress, were connected in some measure with Methodist initiative; that Jason Lee suggested the land grants which from 1838 onward were incorporated in all the bills relating to Oregon and which, with his speaking tour through twelve States and the newspaper campaign he inaugurated, were the chief causes of those large emigrations to Oregon which saved the country to the United States; and that the President of the United States granted Lee, from the secret service fund, aid to lead out, in 1840, the largest body of missionaries and emigrants which to that date had entered Oregon, and that these emigrants, with the one hundred and twenty-five which Dr. White, an ex-Methodist Missionary, led to Oregon in 1842, made possible the provisional government of 1843; that while W. H. Gray, a Congregational layman, took the lead in the final step for a provisional government, the Methodists were the influence back of him making possible this government, and that the first governor, treasurer, and judge of the Supreme Court were members of our church. It was the struggle in the Willamette Valley of the preacher and the school teacher, of the farmer and home-maker, against the trapper and the hunter; and the Methodists were the leaders of civilization in that struggle. The simple story of his deeds places Jason Lee's name high on the bead-roll of prophets and

martyrs begun in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews and not yet concluded.

8. Divine Providence

Above all the efforts of all the parties in this struggle, a study of the facts must more and more impress upon all students of the problem the conviction of a Divine Providence operating in human affairs.

(1) The patient, heroic, but very discouraging labor of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, chiefly in the Oregon Country, has resulted in the salvation of a remnant of the Indians which gives promise of yet producing the reformers and lawgivers and prophets of that race, as the remnant of Judaism under God produced the Saviour of the world.

(2) The inspired author of the first Gospel mentions as a token of the divine favor that Peter caught a fish and found in its mouth a shekel, some sixty cents, by which he was enabled to pay the temple tax of Jesus and himself. The salmon fisheries of the Columbia River have sometimes yielded as high as $15,000,000 in a season, and they will average $5,000,000 a year perpetually. Would not Saint Matthew to-day find a larger illustration of the divine favor? A million and a quarter of people now live in the American portion of the Columbia watershed. This region yields annually $200,000,000 worth of grain, minerals, lumber, fish, fruits, and garden products, with only a fraction of its resources yet utilized. A territory larger than New England, with a far milder climate, facing the most populous part of the globe, with unsurpassed harbors, and with boundless possibilities, is God's way of saying to Christians of the twentieth century—

"Manifold more in this time, and in the world to come eternal life."

(3) But this fine territory with its large material products is not God's only answer to the efforts of the Oregon missionaries and pioneers. After the arrival of the emigrants in the fall of 1843, the Americans in the Columbia Valley outnumbered the British three or four to one. But the British were so reluctant to yield the country between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel that Great Britain did not sign the treaty until 1846. No one dreams that the Puget Sound region would have been yielded June 15, 1846, had not more than a thousand Americans, through the efforts of Lee and Whitman, and Dr. White, poured into Oregon before the treaty was singed.

(4) January 24, 1848, gold was discovered in California. Since negotiations for our Oregon boundary had dragged on from 1818 to 1846—and Great Britain was exceedingly loath to give up the claim to the territory even then—does anyone believe that, had she waited until gold had been discovered and reports of untold wealth had spread like wildfire, she would have signed away her claim without a war?

(5) But there is another important factor which made it necessary that the claim should be settled not only before the discovery of gold in 1848, but during the first half of 1846. We were on the verge of war with Mexico—indeed, we were in a war with Mexico; the battle of Palo Alto was fought May 8, 1846, and the Oregon treaty was not signed until June 15, 1846. Had the news of the Mexican War reached Great Britain before she had dispatched instructions to her minister in Washington to sign the

treaty, that treaty in all human probability would not have been signed in 1846. Instead of confining our forces to Mexico alone, the United States would have been forced to struggle with two nations at once; and this would have prolonged the war until the discovery of gold in 1848. The discovery of gold on the Pacific Coast would have led Great Britain and Mexico to redouble their efforts to hold their claims. Each of the events of this drama presses upon the heels of its predecessor. It is probable that only the settlement of Oregon through missionary initiative, which resulted in the yielding of the claims to the Puget Sound region in 1846, saved us from war with Great Britain, the strongest nation on earth, in addition to the war we were then waging with Mexico. These Nez Percé and Flathead Indians were as truly sent by God as were the visions of the man of Macedonia; and Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman were following plans as providential as were those of Paul when he invaded Europe with his faith.

(6) But the acquisition of territory of large extent and boundless wealth and the avoidance of war with Great Britain were not the only results which missionary enterprise helped to achieve; the church sent her sons to bless others; indirectly they secured the greatest blessings for ourselves, that is, for the American people, including our Negro fellow citizens. Jason Lee, with the cooperation of Dr. McLoughlin, effected the abolition of the last traces of slave owning by white men on the Pacific Coast in 1834, twenty-seven years before the great war of 1861-65. Down to the Mexican War the United States included thirteen free States with 361,000 square miles of territory, and fourteen slave States with 635,000 square miles, not count-

ing Texas.[4] The party leaders on both sides knew that the area of the United States north of the Mason and Dixon line and east of the Mississippi embraced 417,000 square miles as compared with 474,000 south of the line. But the northern territory consecrated to freedom was increasing in population and wealth more rapidly than the southern territory. Moreover, the northern boundary of the United States was carried north by the Great Lakes and extended from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains along the 49th parallel; whereas Mexico owned Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California, with portions of Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming, that is, almost all of what is now the southern

[4] The list and area of States admitted into the Union before the declaration of war with Mexico in 1846 is as follows:

Free States		Slave States	
Connecticut	4,965	Alabama	51,998
Illinois,	56,665	Arkansas	53,335
Indiana	36,354	Delaware	2,370
Massachusetts	8,266	Florida	58,666
Maine	33,040	Georgia	59,265
Michigan	57,980	Kentucky	40,598
New Hampshire	9,341	Louisiana	48,508
New Jersey	8,224	Maryland	12,327
New York	49,204	Mississippi	46,865
Ohio	41,040	Missouri	69,420
Pennsylvania	45,126	North Carolina	52,426
Rhode Island	1,248	South Carolina	30,989
Vermont	9,564	Tennessee	42,022
		Virginia	42,627
13	361,017	West Virginia	24,170
		14	635,586

West Virginia and Virginia were united in 1846.

area of the United States west of the Mississippi. Hence, Mason and Dixon's line, separating the free from the slave territory, if extended west of the Mississippi, would have left almost the entire area on the side of freedom. Texas was annexed and the Mexican War was begun to redress this balance and secure this southwestern territory for slavery. Had the United States surrendered Washington and most of Oregon to Great Britain (and Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, and other Democratic leaders voted against the organization of the Oregon territory), then the territory secured by the Mexican War would have given slavery the larger area west, as well as east, of the Mississippi.

It is true that some American pioneers had settled in Texas; and these pioneers claimed that Texas had conducted a successful revolution and had won her independence from Mexico; and Texas's independence was acknowledged by Great Britain as well as by the United States. But as we showed in Chapter VI, Great Britain possibly was induced to recognize the independence of Texas by the proposal of Tyler to surrender the Puget Sound region in return for British connivance in our annexation of Texas and seizure of Mexican territory. At any rate, it is clear that the United States through the Mexican War robbed a weaker nation of an immense territory, partly for the purpose of extending slavery. A few years later the people of the United States, North and South alike, paid dearly in blood and money and tears for our injustice to the Mexicans and to the Negroes. An impartial historian declares: "No previous war had ever in the same time entailed upon the combatants such enormous sacrifices in life and wealth."[5]

[5] Charnwood, Abraham Lincoln, p. 361.

But the securing to the United States of 286,000 miles of the Oregon Country in which the last traces of slave-owning by white men had been abolished, gave to freedom even after the annexation of Texas, etc., the larger area west of the Mississippi. This was the divine significance of the struggle upon the part of missionaries and pioneers and the United States government for the Oregon Country. It is significant, and suggests divine influence in the affairs of men and nations, that while a great majority of the Southern members of Congress followed Calhoun and Davis in opposing the bill organizing the Oregon territory with its anti-slavery clause, nevertheless the bill passed through the vote of such Democrats as Benton, Linn, and Douglas, who placed patriotism above sectional interests. To-day the South perceives as clearly as the North that not human wisdom or strength, but Divine Providence abolished slavery and preserved the Union. California, which became part of the United States as the result of the war with Mexico, waged in part at least for the extension of slavery, and Oregon, made sure to the United States in 1846, poured their men and money into the Union side in that great struggle. Suppose that this western territory had been held by foreign powers, or that at the time of the contest over slavery we had still been battling for Texas and the gold fields of California and the Puget Sound region against Mexico and Great Britain combined, humanly speaking, it would have been impossible to free the slaves and preserve the Union in 1865. The Divine Providence is the key to history. "Manifold more in this time, and in the world to come eternal life."

(7) But the salvation of a remnant of the Indians, the

possession of a large and invaluable territory, the avoidance of war with Great Britain, the preservation of the Union, and the abolition of slavery, were not the only blessings which the early settlement of Oregon under missionary impulse helped to secure to the United States. The forces for the last great struggle in human history are now gathering around the Pacific Basin. The struggle of the twentieth century largely will determine what race, what language, what civilization and what religion shall become most influential in this great Basin during the remainder of earthly history. The United States and Great Britain by their positions on the Pacific Basin already are playing large parts in that struggle. Because these two nations are contributing in some measure to a Christian type of civilization, it is of incalculable advantage to all races that they settled the Oregon problem in such a manner as to give both of them good harbors on the Pacific Coast. Only future centuries can reveal the significance of the peaceable settlement along the eastern shores of the Pacific of two great peoples—one holding Seattle and Tacoma and the other Vancouver and Victoria, both peoples speaking the same language, governed by the same ideals and aiming in some measure at least to embody Christian principles in the civilization of the largest basin of our earth.

It is because the Roman Catholic and the Congregational, the Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, and Methodist missionaries labored to save the Indian race and, under God, did save a remnant of that race; it is because the combined efforts on each side led to a fair division of this territory without a war, and in such a manner as to place the two great Anglo-Saxon races side by side on the

Pacific Coast for the struggle of the coming centuries; and it is because these tasks were accomplished without war but with a heroism unsurpassed in the records of human history, that Oregon Missions take their place among the modern "Acts of the Apostles."

W. A. Mowry and O. W. Nixon have shown great ability in telling the world of the heroism of Marcus Whitman, H. H. Bancroft, S. A. Clarke, and Horace S. Lyman have surpassed Mowry and Nixon by recognizing the heroic services of other actors in the drama. Professor Bourne and Mr. Marshall discharged a loyal duty to the church and to the nation by correcting the indefensible claims made in behalf of Dr. Whitman, while at the same time they recognized the lofty character of the missionaries and their valuable service in behalf of Christian civilization in Oregon. H. Addington Bruce has made a valuable contribution in setting forth the great services of our statesmen, while at the same time recognizing the services of the missionaries. We would not take a leaf from the laurels with which any of the heroes of American history have been crowned. But impartial history owes to Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding, the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains; impartial history owes to Mrs. White and Mrs. Beers, the first white women to establish homes on the Pacific Coast; to Solomon Smith, Cyrus Shephard, P. L. Edwards, Susan Downing, and Elizabeth Johnson, the first white school teachers on the Pacific Coast; to Harvey Clark, who founded the University of the Pacific; to Daniel Lee, one of the two first Protestant preachers on the Pacific Coast; to Anna Pitman Lee, the first missionary woman dying for posterity on the Pacific Coast; and, above all, to Marcus Whitman and to

Jason Lee, who, like Moses, led their peoples to the promised land, but were not permitted to enter in themselves—laurels not less green and lasting than those upon the brows of the Pilgrim Fathers.

When the population of that golden coast rises to 30,000,000 and Victoria becomes the Glasgow, and Seattle, Tacoma, San Francisco, and Los Angeles the Liverpool, Antwerp, Hamburg, and London of the boundless commerce of the Pacific, may not the landing place of the first missionary ship, Lausanne, become the Plymouth Rock of the Pacific Coast, and Willamette University and Whitman College be their Harvard and their Yale? Will there not arise a Buchanan Read or a Longfellow to sing of rides more heroic than Sheridan's, of more spiritual significance than that of Paul Revere? Will not some spiritual descendant of Mrs. Hemans arise to sing of the second Pilgrim Band who left home, not for freedom to worship God themselves but to carry light to those who sat in darkness, and who, while struggling to save a dying race, marvelously helped their own? "For the eyes of Jehovah run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him."

APPENDIX I

NAMES OF SOME OF THE OREGON PIONEERS

This list is not complete. We have included all the Americans whose names we could find down to and including those who voted for the provisional government, as narrated in Chapter XI. Imperfect as the list is, it is by far the completest list of Oregon pioneers which, so far as our knowledge goes, has been hitherto compiled.

Lewis and Clark Expedition—1805

Degie, Philip.
DeLoar (Lyman III, 251).
Rivet, Francis.

Arrived on Tonquin—1811

Thomas McKay.

Astor party—1812

Cannon, William.
Dorion, Madame.
Dorion, Baptiste.
Dubruil.
Gervais, Joseph.
LaBonte, Louis.
LaFramboise, Michel.
Lucier, Etienne.
McKay, Jean Baptiste Deportes.
Montoure.
Revoir, Antoine.

The above are believed to belong to the Astor party, though not all of them have been identified.

Hudson's Bay Company—1818

Birnie, James.
Latta, William.

Pichette, Louis (Bancroft I, 74, says settled in Valley, 1832).
Ogden, Peter Skeen.
Scarborough.

Hudson's Bay Company—1821
Plumondeau, Simon (Lyman III, 264).

Hudson's Bay Company—1824
Douglas, James (later Sir James).
McLoughlin, Dr. John.

Hudson's Bay Company—1824 to 1828
Connell.
Dease.
Ermatinger, Frank.
Manson, Donald.
McKinlay, Archibald.
Pambrun, Pierre C.
Work, John.

Hudson's Bay Company—1828–29
Felix Hathaway, saved from wreck of H. B. Co. vessel William and Ann.
James M. Bates.

Hudson's Bay Company—1830
Dunn, John.
Roberts, George B.

Hudson's Bay Company—1831
Finlayson, Duncan.

Others of Hudson's Bay people of unknown date, but believed to have come before 1832
Belaque.
Chamberlaine.
Charlevon.
Dubois, Andrew.
Dupre, Francis.
Fancault.
La Chapelle, Andre.
Payette.
Pournaffe.
Quesnel, Francis.

Rondeau.
Shaugarette, Louis.

Hudson's Bay Company—1832
Allen, George T.
McLeod, John.
McNeill, William.

N. J. Wyeth party—1832
Abbot—Killed by Bannock Indians.
Ball, John.
Breck, W.
Burditt, S.
Sargent, G., died 1836.
Smith, J. Woodman.
Smith, Solomon Howard.
St. Clair.
Tibbets, Calvin.
Trumbull, G.
Whittier.

Independent—1832
Captain O'Neal—Clarke, vol. i, p. 199.

Hudson's Bay Company—1833
Tolmie, Dr. William Frazer.

Hudson's Bay Company—1834
Rae, William Glen—In Calif. from 1841 till death in 1846.

N. J. Wyeth party of 1834—and First Group of Methodist Missionaries
Edmunds, J., mentioned by Methodists, probably came with this party.
Edwards, Philip L., Methodist missionary-teacher.
Hubbard, Thomas Jefferson.
Lee, Daniel, Methodist missionary, retired to States August 14, 1843.
Lee, Jason, Methodist missionary.
McCrary, Richard.
O'Neil, James H., converted and joined Methodist Church.
Richardson, Paul, guide; did not remain in country.

Roe, Charles J., mentioned by Methodists, probably came with party.

Sansbury.

Shepard. Cyrus, Methodist missionary-teacher.

Thornburg, killed by Hubbard in self-defense in 1835.

Walker, Courtney M., contract teacher for Methodists for one year, and others.

Young and Kelley party—1834

Brandywine.

Carmichael, Lawrence.

Ezekiel, Elisha.

Gale, Joseph.

Hauxhurst, Webley J., built first gristmill in Willamette Valley in 1834; converted January, 1837, and joined Methodist Church.

Howard, John.

Kelley, Hall J.

Kilborn.

McCarty, John.

Winslow, George (colored).

Young, Ewing.

Hudson's Bay Company—1834 (about)

Anderson, Alexander Caulfield.

Hudson's Bay Company—1835

McLeod, Donald.

1835

Bailey, Dr. William J., an attache of Methodist Mission; married Margaret Smith.

Gay, George.

Turner, John.

American Board missionaries—1836

Gray, William H., layman.

Spalding, Henry Harmon, minister, and wife.

Whitman, Dr. Marcus, medical missionary, and wife.

Second Group Methodist Missionaries—May, 1837

Beers, Alanson, blacksmith, wife and three children.

Downing, Susan, engaged to marry Cyrus Shepard.

Johnson, Elvira, teacher.

Pitman, Anna Maria, later married Jason Lee.

Whitcomb, J. L.

White, Elijah, physician, wife and two children; left mission summer of 1840 on Lausanne.

Willson, W. H., carpenter.

Third Group Methodist Missionaries—September 7, 1837

Leslie, David, minister, wife and three daughters.

Perkins, H. K. W., minister, left Mission in late summer of 1844.

Smith, Margaret, teacher.

Second Group of American Board Missionaries—1838

Eells, Cushing C., minister, and wife.

Rogers, Cornelius, layman, drowned February 4, 1843.

Smith, Asa B., minister, and wife; left about 1841 or 1842 for Sandwich Islands.

Walker, Elkanah, minister, and wife.

First Group of Roman Catholic Missionaries—1838

Blanchet, Francis Norbert, priest.

Demers, Modeste, priest.

1838

Conner, James.

Williams, Richard.

Independent Missionaries Sent Out by Congregational Association—1839

Griffin, J. S., minister, and wife.

Munger, Asahel, minister, and wife. Worker for American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Waiilatpu, released by Whitman. Worker for Methodist Episcopal Church at Salem. Became deranged and committed suicide.

Sent by Congregationalists of Hawaii with First Printing Press—1839

Hall, E. O., printer.

1839

Eakin, Richard H.

Ebberts, George Ward.

Geiger, William; worked for Methodists 1839-40, and then for American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Waiilatpu; later went to California.

Johnson, D. G.

Johnson, William.

Peoria Party Arriving in 1839 and 1840

Blair, W.

Cook, Amos.

Farnham, Thomas J.

Fletcher, Francis.

Holman, Joseph; joined Methodist Mission; married Elmira Phelps.

Kilborne, R. L.

Moore, Robert.

Smith, Sidney W.

Shortess, Robert; converted under Methodist preaching.

Independent Missionaries—1840

Clark, Harvey, minister, and wife.

Littlejohn, P. B., and wife, layman; returned in 1845.

Smith, Alvin T., layman, and wife.

1838 to 1840

Armstrong, Pleasant; possibly came through Lee's influence.

Davis, George.

Green, John.

Matts, Charles.

Thompson, Phillip.

Hudson's Bay Company—1840

Barclay, Dr. Forbes.

Grant, James.

McBean, William.

1840

Craig, William.

Doty, William M.

Larison, John.

Meek, Joseph L.

Newell, Robert.

Wilkins, Caleb.

APPENDIX I

Ebberts Mentions These Men as Being in Country About 1840

Kernard, John.

Graves, W. H.

Severn.

Gray Mentions These Men as Being in Country About 1840

Altgeier.

Wilkinson, George.

Second Arrival Roman Catholic Missionaries—1840

Pierre J. De Smet, priest, went with lay missionaries and sisters.

Fourth Group Methodist Missionaries—June 1, 1840

Abernethy, George, treasurer of mission, wife and two children.

Adams, Thomas.

Babcock, Ira L., physician, wife and one child.

Brewer, Henry B., farmer, and wife.

Campbell, Hamilton, carpenter, wife and one child.[1]

Carter, David, teacher.

Clark, Chloe A., teacher.

Frost, Joseph H., minister, wife and one child.[2] Resigned February, 1843.

Hines, Gustavus, minister, wife and one child, sailed for States August 14, 1843.

Judson, Lewis H., cabinet-maker, wife and three children.

Kone, W. H., minister, and wife.

Lankton, Orpha, teacher.

Lee, Jason, minister, and wife.

Olley, James, carpenter, and wife.

Parrish, Josiah L., blacksmith, wife and three children.

Phelps, Almira, teacher; married Joseph Holman.

Phillips, Elmira, teacher; later married W. W. Raymond.

Raymond, W. W., farmer, and wife.

Richmond, J. P., M.D., minister, wife and four children; retired to States September 1, 1842.

Waller, Alvan F., minister, wife and two children.

Ware, Maria T., teacher.

[1] Hines and Atwood say one child, Bancroft says "children."

[2] Hines and Bancroft agree; Atwood does not mention a child.

Roman Catholic Missionaries—1841

Mengarini, Gregorio, priest.

Point, Nicholas, priest.

Three lay brothers.

Other Roman Catholic lay brothers, and also sisters came, but we do not know their names or the dates of their arrival.

1842

Brainard, Peter.

Osborn, Russell.

Prettyman, Francis W.

Trask, Elbridge.

Wilson, Albert E. (actual date of arrival not mentioned; in country in 1842).

Dr. White's Party—October, 1842

Arendell, C. T.

Barnam.

Bellamy, C. W.

Bennett, Vandaman.

Bennett, Winston; one of the Bennetts had family.

Bridges.

Brown, Gabriel, and family.

Brown, James.

Brown, William.

Burns.

Clark, Patrick.

Coats, Q. N.

Coats, James.

Coombs, Nathan.

Copeland, Alexander.

Crawford, Medorem.

Crocker, Nathaniel.

Daubenbiss, John.

Davis, Samuel.

Davy, Allen.

Dearum, John.

Force, James, and family.

Force, John.

Foster.

Gibbs, Joseph.
Girtman, and family.
Hastings, Lansford W.
Hoffstetter, John.
Hudspeth, J. M.
Jones, Hardin.
Lewis, Rueben.
Lovejoy, A. L.
Matthieu, Francis Xavier; joined party at Laramie.
McKay, Alexander.
McKay, John.
Meek, Stephen H. L.; joined party at South Fork.
Morrison, J. L.
Moss, S. W.
Paul, "Dutch."
Perry, J. H., and family.
Pomeroy, Dwight.
Pomeroy, Walter, and family.
Robb, J. R.
Shadden (Sheldon), T. J., and family.
Sumner (Summers), Owen, and family.
Smith, Andrew, and family.
Smith, A. D.
Smith, Darling.
Towner, Aaron.
Storer, Adam.
Turnham, Joel.
Weston, David.
White, Elijah. = 52 men.

White says 112 in party when organized and increased to 125; McLoughlin says 137, probably includes mountain men who joined; Medorem Crawford says 105 in party; Lovejoy says there were about 70 armed men; Frémont says there were 64 armed men; Hastings says there were 80 armed men.

1842

Berthier, Francis.
Ganthier, Pierre.

Matte, Joseph.
Moison, Thomas.
Remon, August.
Senecalle, Gedereau.

Roman Catholic Missionaries—1843

DeVos, Peter, priest.
Hoeken, Adrian, priest.
Three lay brothers.

Bancroft Mentions Following Hudson Bay Men, but Does Not Give Date of Their Arrival.

Ballenden, John.
Lewes, John Lee.
Maxwell, Henry.
McDonald, Angus.
McDonald, Archibald.
McTavish, Dugald.
Simpson.

List of French-Canadians in Oregon. Taken from the Books of F. X. Matthieu.

Arcouette, Amable.
Aubichon, Jean B.
Auchibon, Jean Lingras Alexis.
Bernabe, Joseph.
Boivers, Louis.
Bonafante, Antoine.
Briscbois, Olivier.
Dalcourse, Jean B.
Deguire, Baptiste.
De Lord, Pierre.
Depot, Pierre.
Donpierre, David.
Du Bois, Andre.
Ducharme, Jean B.
Felice, Antoine.
Gregoire, Etienne.
Laderoute, Xaxier.
Laferete, Michelle.
Langtain, Andre.

La Platte, Alexis.
Le Course, Pierre.
Lor, Moyse.
Maloine, Fabien.
Pagnon, Luc.
Panpin, Jean B.
Papin, Pierre.
Osant, Louis.
Pariseau, Pierre.
Sanders, John.
Servans, Jean.
Vandalle, Louis A.
Vandalle, Louis B.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PERSONS WHO VOTED FOR THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF OREGON

Showing Their Relation to the Methodist Mission

Armstrong, P. M. May be "Pleasant Armstrong." Independent, 1838-40.

Babcock, Ira L. Physician. Fourth Methodist missionary party, 1840.

Bailey, W. J. 1835. "An attaché" of the Methodist Mission. Married Margaret Smith.

Beers, Alanson. 1837. Second Methodist missionary group, p. 4.

Bridges, J. L. 1842. White's party.

Burns, Hugh. 1842. White's party.

Campo, Charles. Possibly persuaded by Matthieu to vote with Americans.

Cannon, William. 1812. Probably Astor party.

Clarke, Harvey. 1840. Independent missionary.

Cook, Amos. 1839. Peoria party.

Crawford, Medorem. 1842. White's party.

Davy, Allen. 1842. White's party.

Doughty, W. P.

Ebberts, George W. 1839. Independent.

Fletcher, Francis. 1839. Peoria party.

Gale, Joseph. 1834. Young and Kelley party.

Gay, George. 1835. Independent.

Gray, William H. 1836. Whitman party. Subscriber to Methodist Church.

Griffin, J. S. 1839. Independent missionary.

Hauxhurst, Webley J. 1834. Young and Kelley party; converted 1837; joined Methodists.

Hill, David.

APPENDIX II

Hines, Gustavus. 1840. Fourth Methodist group.
Holman, Joseph. 1839. Peoria party; joined the Methodist Church.
Howard, John. 1834. Young and Kelley party.
Hubbard, Thomas J. 1834. N. J. Wyeth party; subscriber to Methodist Church.
Johnson, William. 1839 (date uncertain).
Judson, Lewis H. 1840. Fourth Methodist group.
Le Breton, George W. 1840. Came on Steamship Maryland, through Jason Lee's influence with Cushing; subscriber to Methodist Church.
Leslie, David. 1837. Third Methodist group.
Lewis, Rueben. 1842. White's party.
Lucier, Etienne, 1812. Astor party.
Matthieu, Francis Xavier. 1842. Came with White party.
McCarthy, William.
McCrary, Richard. 1834.
Meek, Joseph L. 1840. Independent.
Moore, Robert. 1839. Peoria party.
Morrison, John L.
Newell, Robert. 1840. Independent.
O'Neil, James H. 1834. Wyeth party; converted and joined Methodist Church.
Osborn, Russell. 1842. Independent.
Parrish, Josiah L. 1840. Fourth Methodist missionary group.
Pickernel, John.
Robb, J. R. 1842. White party; subscribed to Methodist Church.
Shortess, Robert, 1839. Peoria party; converted under Methodists. 1841, on Building Committee of Church and a subscriber to the church.
Smith, Alvin T. 1840. Independent missionary.
Smith, Sidney W. 1839. Peoria party.
Smith, Solomon H. 1832. Wyeth party; subscriber to Methodist Church.
Tibbets, Calvin. 1832. N. J. Wyeth party.
Weston, David. 1842. White party.
Wilkins, Caleb. 1840. Independent.

Willson, W. H. 1837. Second Methodist missionary group.
Wilson, A. E. (About) 1842. Subscriber to Methodist Church.

SUMMARY

7 Methodist missionaries.
4 Members Methodist Church.
5 Subscribers to Methodist Church, but not positively known to be members.
6 Came out in Peoria party—direct result of J. Lee's work.
7 Came out in White's party—result of Lee's speeches and White's efforts.
1 An attaché of the Mission.
1 Came out on Steamship Maryland, direct result of Lee's work.

31—3 counted twice = 28 of the 52 votes for provisional government are directly or indirectly due to Methodist influence in Oregon.

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